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AMOR Y RABIA UNA PERIODICO ANARQUISTA REVOLUCIONARIA

a los lectores norteamericanos y otros angloparlantes alrededor del mundo.

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LOVE AND RAGE A REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHIST NEWSPAPER

**COPS FIRE ON MEXICAN
MAY DAY P. 1**

**MARCH AGAINST COPS AND
KLAN IN CHATTANOOGA P. 1**

**ANARCHIST CRITIQUE
OF MARXISM P. 15**



photo by David Rae Morris, Impact Visuals

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Day of Action Against Klan and Killer Cops

COMPILED BY THE PRODUCTION GROUP

THE AD-HOC COALITION AGAINST Racism and Police Brutality of Chattanooga has issued an urgent call for a day of action against racism and police brutality in Chattanooga, TN on Saturday, Sept 11, 1993. There will be a demonstration and protest march. Anti-racist and Queer activists from across the country are asked to help stand against the murderous fascists which infest the city. There will also be an organizer's mini-conference on Sunday, Sept 12 in order to allow networking of anti-racist activists and to set strategy for future offensives against fascism and racism. The meeting may serve as the founding conference for an anti-racist federation.

BACKGROUND

On May 13, 1993, eight protesters led by the Concerned Citizens for Justice were illegally arrested by cops at a "police memorial" in Chattanooga. This happened two days after the racist report of the Hamilton County Grand Jury that refused to prosecute eight white cops who had murdered Black trucker, Larry Powell, on February 5, 1993. Driving through town Powell was ostensibly stopped for DWI. The cops choked him to death on the spot. Within the past 12 years, over 23 persons have been known to die in local police custody. No police have ever been prosecuted.

The protests that day were part of an entire week of protests against police brutality, and it was felt that this "cop memorial" was nothing but a deliberate slap in the face of the local Black community. The Concerned Citizens for Justice and other anti-racist protesters felt that a counter-demonstration was in order to combat the cops' arrogance. They bravely marched into the midst of over 400 heavily armed cops, held up picket signs and chanted "Stop Killer Cops...Justice for Larry Powell." Not surprisingly, they were quickly hauled off to jail. The 8 face seven months for "disturbing the peace" and "interfering in a public meeting". They've been freed on \$1000 bail each.

The irony of all this is not lost on the community: Now the police want to pre-

vent you from even talking about killer cops. It is the eight protesters who are on trial, not the racist cops who killed Larry Powell.

The Chattanooga 8, as they are being called, are: Lorenzo Komboa Ervin, Tanya Miles, Steven B. Hunter, John Edward Johnson, Rhonda Robinson, Clifford Eberhardt, Keith Melvin, and Charlotte Williams. Lorenzo Komboa Ervin wrote the pamphlet *Anarchism and the Black Revolution*. In the 1960s he was a member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Black Panther Party. Eventually captured by the US, he was imprisoned from 1969 to 1983 for several alleged crimes. Since then he's spent many years in Chattanooga organizing against the Klan (who his Committee helped run out of town), and police brutality and murder.

THE KLAN AND DAY OF ACTION

Shortly after the arrest of Chattanooga 8, the Lookout Mountain Knights of the Ku Klux Klan announced their plans to march

through the streets of Chattanooga. The Klan's threat to attack any future gay-rights parades in Chattanooga was followed by an announcement that in Sept, 1993 they would march in downtown Chattanooga. They also pledged to fight organizers demanding the investigation of cops in the case of Larry Powell. The day of action on Sept 11 was originally called as a national counter-demonstration against this march.

Local anti-racist activists began to plan this counter demonstration which apparently frightened the Klan off (the word is that they have withdrawn their request for the permit, but it has been impossible to confirm this). Regardless, Chattanooga activists have decided that the day of action will serve notice to the Klan, nazis and any other fascists that they will not tolerate a racist presence in their town.

The Klan is one part of a deeply entrenched white power structure in Chattanooga that has successfully terrorized and oppressed the Black community of that city for over 70 years. In 1987 the Klan

attempted to hold a rally in Chattanooga and were forced to run from the considerably larger anti-racist counter-demonstration.

A *Rock Against Racism* concert is planned for Saturday afternoon and evening. A variety of bands and styles of music will be featured in the spirit of racial harmony.

The Chattanooga 8 deserve the support of all persons who believe in justice and want to bring an end to police brutality. We must demand that all criminal charges be dropped against the demonstrators, that all protest literature seized by the cops be returned to them, that they also be given financial compensation for legal expenses and the humiliation of arrest. Most importantly, we must also continue to demand the prosecution of all the cops in the case of Larry Powell and other victims of police brutality. The people of Chattanooga also need your support in their fight against the Klan and the larger white power structure.

(Continued to page 19)

Minnesota Not Nice to Operation Rescue

By LIZA

OPERATION RESCUE (OR) ANNOUNCED last winter that Minneapolis would be the site for their "Impact Training" bootcamp during the upcoming summer and also one of seven cities targeted for their "Cities of Refuge" campaign. After hearing their plans to terrorize abortion clinics, doctors, and especially women seeking abortions, local anarchists grew determined to fight these right-wing fascists and win.

THE LIBERALS

As we began to organize for the so-called siege that was expected to hit the city in June, we quickly realized that this battle would evolve into many different struggles, some within the broad pro-choice movement. The Network to Ensure Access (NEA), a local coalition formed by mainstream pro-choice groups like Planned

Parenthood and the National Organization for Women (NOW), in reaction to OR's summer plans, held non-violence training sessions for individuals interested in keeping the clinics open. These volunteers were required to submit personal identification at the sessions, and were forced to agree to remain non-violent even when taunted, spit on, or physically attacked by OR. Most embarrassing of all, they were expected to wear bright red t-shirts at the clinic defenses with slogans that whined "Keep Minnesota Nice." This tired slogan was eventually aimed at pro-choice radicals, and not at Operation Rescue. More on this twisted chain of events later.

THE ACTION COALITION FOR REPRODUCTIVE FREEDOM

As radicals and anti-authoritarians, we wanted a response that would go beyond

the standard clinic defense where we are herded like cattle, with decisions being made by the elite few of the mainstream pro-choice movement and often carried out by the police. We also wanted to set a precedent by illustrating that these largely-white right-wingers, whose leaders are all men, are not welcome in our city, or anywhere. With these ideas in mind, radicals in the Twin Cities formed an alternative coalition, the Action Coalition for Reproductive Freedom (ACRF). This coalition consisted of anarchists, communists, and other leftists, many of whom had worked together resisting the Gulf War, and in other anti-imperialist work. Though we had different ideas about general organizational strategy, we came together united in our plan to fight to keep the clinics open to all women. Also, as radicals we realize that OR extends beyond being anti-choice. They represent the tip of the iceberg of a strong far-right Christian movement. Members of ACRF were committed to fighting this fascism, and agreed that these zealots needed to be confronted at the churches where they organize, as well as at the clinics.

DIRECT ACTION

Our oppositional campaign began with two successful direct action projects initiated by the Twin Cities Anarchist Federation (TCAF): a billboarding spree and a poster-rampage. The controversial poster which defiantly raged "Operation Rescue, come to our town, we'll lock you in a church and burn the fucker down!" was plastered all over the Twin Cities, including Calvary Temple, the church that was hosting OR. The church's leaders held a press conference the next day, blaming "militant anarchists" for the action. This incident triggered the beginning of our hideous (non)relationship with the mainstream press, who spit out words like anarchist, militant, and radical right along with thugs, fanatics, and violence (big shock). To the media, it all simply meant the same, bad and dangerous to "Minnesota Nice."

THE COMMUNISTS

Unfortunately, besides dealing with the liberals, the media, and the police, we were forced to focus on another disruptive force, the National Women's Rights Organizing Committee (NWROC), a front group for the Revolutionary Workers League, a Trotskyist group based in Detroit. That NWROC came to Minneapolis was not shocking; they are known to travel from city to city to fight OR and others not in the vanguard. The RWL has a history of disrupting positive political organizing, they are especially known for their authoritarian behavior during the Gulf War. About 15 members from NWROC arrived with plans to organize us, the masses, into a "mass militant movement," without consideration that radicals in the Twin

(Continued to page 3)

Cops Fire at Mexico City May Day Demo

By the Mexico Production Group

RESPONDING TO A CALL BY THE Love and Rage Network, on May 1st an anarchist contingent joined the march of the Movimiento Proletario Independiente (Independent Proletarian Movement—MPI) in Mexico City. The march began at the Niños Heroes (Child Heroes) monument in Chapultepec shortly after the scheduled time.

The anarchist contingent marched at the end of all of the contingents, with our own banner, flags and slogans. The planned route of the march went along Paseo de la Reforma to Juárez Ave. and from there to

Madero street to end up in front of the Palacio Nacional (National Palace), but the route was changed when we received the notice that the police were on the Glorieta Cristóbal Colón planning to stop the march. In order to avoid confrontation, the marchers decided to change course at Niza street, passing straight through the Pink Zone (the most Yuppie, commercialized part of the city), terrifying more than one Bourgeois and several tourists out shopping in the expensive stores of the area. We continued on Chapultepec avenue and shortly we changed direction towards Fray Servando avenue; once again avoiding a

confrontation, since the forces of repression were trying to block our path.

The march continued forward energetically, as all of the participants were consciously avoiding provocations. Our contingent chanted: "Primero de mayo, día de trabajo, los gobernantes vayan al carajo" ("First of May, day of work, those who govern can go to hell") and "Ni Dios, ni Estado, ni Patrón, no mantenemos a ningún cabrón" ("Neither God, nor State, nor Boss, we won't put up with any assholes.") Suddenly, at López street, just before Lazaro Cardenas

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Love and Rage is the English-language newspaper of the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation, an organization made up of groups and individuals in Canada, Mexico and the US who share a set of common politics and who work on common political projects. Love and Rage is produced by a Production Group in New York City. The Production group is made up of volunteers and one full-time paid staff person. Love and Rage is one of the many projects of the Federation which also produces the Spanish-language *Amor y Rabia* in Mexico City, operates a Federation office in Oakland, California, and publishes an internal discussion bulletin in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in addition to supporting various actions and campaigns. There are currently two working groups in the Federation: one on racist and police violence and the other on state borders and anti-immigrant violence. For more information contact the groups.

Major decisions and overall policies of the Federation are set by an annual conference, or between conferences by the Federation Council. The Federation Council is currently made up of two delegates from each of the local supporting groups plus eight delegates from the various projects.

Ongoing debates and discussions within the federation take place in the quarterly discussion bulletin (Disco Bull). More timely information goes out in the bi-weekly Federation Bulletin, currently produced in New York City.

The Federation is not a closed circle of friends. You can join the Federation and participate fully in the decision-making process. Any member of a local supporting group is automatically a member of the Federation. Any individual who is in general agreement with the stated politics of the Federation, who supports the projects of the Federation and who pays the \$25 communications fee to cover the costs of receiving the Federation publications, may be a member of the Federation. The communications fee will be waived on request.

Even if you do not wish to be a member of the Federation you may participate in Federation projects. We are always happy to have people help with any of the projects. So please contact us.

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Boring Disclaimer

Yo, all the stuff we print in the newspaper does not necessarily represent the opinions of the Federation or of any member of the Federation. We print lots of things for lots of reasons. Sometimes we print articles we don't agree with, because we believe that they are interesting or provocative. Got it?

Editorial Policy

We encourage you to submit material for publication. Shorter articles are more likely to be printed. 1750 words, a full newspaper page, is a long article. Submissions may be edited. Please include a phone number and address so the PG can consult you on editing. Articles not printed may be sent to our internal bulletins. All letters will be considered for publication unless there is an explicit request that they not be published. Letters will not be edited.

About Our Politics

The Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation is in the process of developing a statement of our common politics. A set of Working Papers encompassing the debate on the content of this statement is available for \$5 from Info-Share (see address above). The following introduction to our old Political Statement gives an idea of where we are coming from:

Love and Rage is a bi-monthly anarchist newspaper intended to foster revolutionary anti-authoritarian activism in North America and build a more effective and better-organized anarchist movement. We will provide coverage of social struggles, world events, anarchist actions, and cultures of resistance. We will support the struggles of oppressed peoples around the world for control over their own lives. Anarchy offers the broadest possible critique of domination, making possible a framework for unity in all struggles for liberation. We seek to understand the systems we live under for ourselves and reject any pre-packaged ideology. Anarchism is a living body of theory and practice connected directly to the lived experiences of oppressed people fighting for their own liberation. We anticipate the radical and on-going revision of our ideas as a necessary part of any revolutionary process.

Poverty Pimps Throw Stones at Glass House

By Dave Lawrence

GLASS HOUSE IS A LARGE SQUAT, housing a diverse group of people, on New York's Lower East Side. Last April, a plan for the city-owned building to be developed as AIDS/HIV housing was presented to the Community Board for its approval. Residents of Glass House moved quickly to figure out how they could save their home from what on the surface may seem like a much-needed plan to provide housing for people with AIDS.

People from Glass House immediately started to investigate the proposal. They spoke with other squatters and political activists from the neighborhood, including ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power). The plan was being proposed by a non-profit called Pueblo Nuevo, a group with no experience working with people with AIDS and close ties to city councilmember Antonio Pagan. Pagan has opposed every AIDS housing project that has come along. In particular, he has spoken strongly against a proposal by the ACT UP spin-off group, Housing Works. However, Pagan supports the Pueblo Nuevo project. After all, it would be built by his friend and ally, Robert Caballero, the head of Pueblo Nuevo, it will not be near his yuppie constituency, and it will push out squatters. More significantly, it will give him ammunition in his fight against Housing Works and another AIDS housing project being proposed by a Quaker group. Now Pagan could finally say he supports housing for PWAs.

The struggle to save Glass House began with the handing out and posting of leaflets that explained the situation and asked people to come out and voice their support for Glass House at Community Board 3 (CB3) meetings. Early on in this process of building support a dialogue was opened between Glass House and Housing Works. A statement was distributed and read at Community Board subcommittee meetings by a representative of Housing Works that questioned the need to evict Glass House in order to provide housing for PWAs. At these meetings Glass House revealed the fact that they were already housing people who were HIV positive. Under pressure from Pueblo Nuevo a group called Loisaída Inc. backed off in its claim for Glass House to become a trade school for youth, conceding half the site to Pueblo Nuevo. Throughout the course of the subcommittee meetings, despite numerous speeches by Glass House residents and people from the community who support the

squat, members of the Community Board discounted Glass House squatters as trespassers who "are not neighbors" and therefore had no say in the future of Glass House.

The strategy for saving Glass House from eviction was never based on convincing the Community Board to vote in favor of squatters; that could never happen, especially since the board is packed with Pagan appointees. Also, the Community Board has no real power in city government; it's a rubber stamp to appease advocates of "community involvement." However, the Community Board offered a forum to make publicly known the determination of Glass House to survive. With the full board meeting just around the corner, Glass House was faced with the task of not only building community support for the squat in the larger community, but building solidarity within the squatter movement. Glass House still had a reputation as a disorganized summer punk crash pad even though this had not been the case for over a year. In the short period of time before the CB3 meeting, Glass House distributed a statement of purpose and principles to other squats and around the neighborhood, along with a call for people to come out and show support at the upcoming meeting. An emergency Eviction Watch (a network of Lower East Side squats) meeting was held the night before the board meeting where a number of different strategies and scenarios were discussed and debated.

The full meeting of CB3 took place at Cooper Union. A hundred squatters attended along with other community residents there for other issues. During the public session only three people supporting Glass House were called on to speak. As the public session was called to an end by the chair, a group of about 25 squatters from Glass House and other squats moved to the front of the auditorium carrying a banner as others cheered. What started out as a peaceful disruption of the proceedings turned confrontational when Luis Soler, chairman of CB3, directed the cops to clear the room. He then began pointing out people to be arrested including two CB3 members, Margarita Lopez and Joyce Ravitz, who he saw as political opponents. Soler was seen videotaping the subsequent unrest. During the struggle, tables and chairs were overturned and water spilled onto CB3's paperwork. Throughout the struggle the room was filled with a chaotic ambiance from the smell of stink bombs.

Moments later, we knew that the head of the demonstration was having difficulties. From the cars with loudspeakers which accompanied several different contingents we began to hear messages and chants: "Let us through!", "We are workers and not aggressors!", "Minutes later the beasts charged at the crowd, attacking indiscriminately with nightsticks and rocks despite the presence of children and older people. The comrades in Sindicato Ruta 100 (the Route 100 Union), along with other militants in MPI, sent the trucks up front. The trucks

hanging in the air combined with shouting and the strobes and sirens from the fire alarms that had been pulled. The meeting had effectively been shut down. A total of 11 people were arrested including the Community Board members. Two squatters are still facing felony riot charges. In the aftermath of the disturbance, City Councilmember Antonio Pagan, who was not present at the meeting, distributed a letter in which he accused squatters of having conspired with other political forces who oppose his policies.

The following week the Community Board was reconvened and approved the Pueblo Nuevo plan for Glass House. Squatters and anyone else opposed to Pagan and his cadre were barred from attending the meeting. Glass House held a press conference and rally outside the site of the meeting and then in defiance to the authority of the board to decide their fate, marched away before the meeting was over.

In the following weeks Glass House continued to build alliances with other anti-Pagan forces, primarily those within the AIDS activist community. Glass House and some other squatters are working in a coalition of groups trying to build AIDS housing who are being opposed by not-in-my-backyard forces. The coalition opposes evictions and displacement for the purposes of building AIDS facilities. A resolution passed by ACT UP states that, "ACT UP recognizes the group of squatters occupying ...[Glass House] as the rightful residents of that building..." and goes on to say "ACT UP recognizes squatting as an appropriate, necessary, and sometimes the only housing option for low income people, including some people living with HIV and AIDS."

Following the eviction of 32 families from two squatted buildings in the South Bronx, a demonstration was held at City Hall, and later moved to the main office of Housing Preservation and Development, to protest the Bronx eviction and the threat to evict Glass House. (HPD does not control the site of Glass House but would partially fund the Pueblo Nuevo project.) The ACT UP statement was hand-delivered to an HPD official by a Glass House resident who was threatened with arrest if she didn't leave the premises. Late in July a concert was held in Tompkins Square Park to raise awareness of the Glass House situation. Despite a police presence so large that in and of itself it qualified as a provocation, the day ended without serious incident.

The struggle to save Glass House is not over. Police have plans for the eviction but apparently have not gotten the go-ahead from City Hall. When all the politicians return from summer vacation the battle will likely heat up, but for the first time it looks like Glass House has a fighting chance.★

to fuck up the closest aggressors. Twenty-four cops were injured by demonstrators defending themselves. After some cops were shot, with others receiving severe fractures and lesions, the cops fired tear-gas canisters into the crowd. The suffocation, the pain in the throat, the insufferable burning in the eyes and constant tears forced us to withdraw quickly. We left behind our trucks, riddled with bullets, their windows broken from rocks thrown by the cops.

Finally we entered the Zócalo [the central historical plaza in Mexico City which faces the cathedral and the President's mansion], where we had a rally to conclude the march in front of the national palace. The speeches of the directors, leaders, secretaries general, and other hierarchical position-holders of each of the participating organization flooded the center of the capital with "revolutionary demagoguery". For our part, Ana Laura and Miguel Lora (who had signed up in order to speak at the rally) tried to speak to the demonstrators. We found—to our surprise—that within this "independent" gathering were the same Stalinists as usual. We noted and

denounced the presence of some of these authoritarian dinosaurs (as much enemies of the oppressed as are the State and Capital) within a movement with such a dignified, valiant and revolutionary foundation. The demonstrators applauded our call for revolutionary self-determination and direct action.★

Mexican May Day

(Continued from page 1)

thruway we were met with a barrier of blue helmets of about 300 troops, shields and nightsticks in hand, and a second line of more than 100 uniformed beasts riding on beautiful horses. They blocked the path of the demonstration in an open and shameless provocation. The police formed a ring, making it impossible to continue on alternate streets, blocking the exits with judicial



soldiers and anti-riot cops with attack dogs [There are many different police forces in Mexico City, including judicial, special forces, municipal, and several others.]

Since our contingent was marching at the end, about four or five blocks from the front it was difficult to find out what was happening there.

faced attacks with bullets and rocks and the attempt cost us some of our forces. The confrontation between the demonstrators and the pigs changed, in a few seconds, into a pitched battle that lasted over 20 minutes.

Twenty-one demonstrators were injured by the state forces. Those that had the luck of finding a rock, a stick or a pipe were able

Fetus Freaks Without a Prayer in San Jose

By DEAN TUCKERMAN

THEY PROMISED THEIR LARGEST actions ever. They promised to shut down abortion clinics and harass doctors and other clinic workers in seven cities across the country. They call themselves the vanguard of the "pro-life" Christian right. They called this campaign "Cities of

Refuge." They failed...in every city where there was clinic defense. According to reports received as of this writing OR failed in 6 cities and only closed two clinics on two successive days in suburban Philadelphia, at the Chester-Crozer Clinic (a part of the Chester-Crozer Hospital in Upland, PA, a working-class town between Chester, PA

and Southwest Philadelphia) and a clinic fifty miles away in Wilmington, Del. It seems that the clinic defense group in Philadelphia did not provide defense in the far suburbs, and refused to provide defense at a clinic that was part of a hospital.

Here in the Bay Area, open clinics had defenders from Sacramento to Monterey, but especially centered on clinics in San Jose, which OR had announced as the only City of Refuge west of the Rocky Mountains. On Friday night, they had an opening prayer service and pep rally which we demonstrated against. [We, generally in this article, refers to the militant clinic defenders brought out by Bay Area Coalition for Our Reproductive Rights—BACORR (formerly Bay Area Coalition Against Operation Rescue), the BAAD (Bay Area Abortion Defense) Coalition in San Jose, and assorted individuals and groups ranging from the Spartacist League to the League of Women Voters. The National Organization of Women (NOW), California Abortion Rights Action League (CARAL), the Pro-Choice Coalition, and Planned Parenthood also brought out defenders and clinic escorts.]

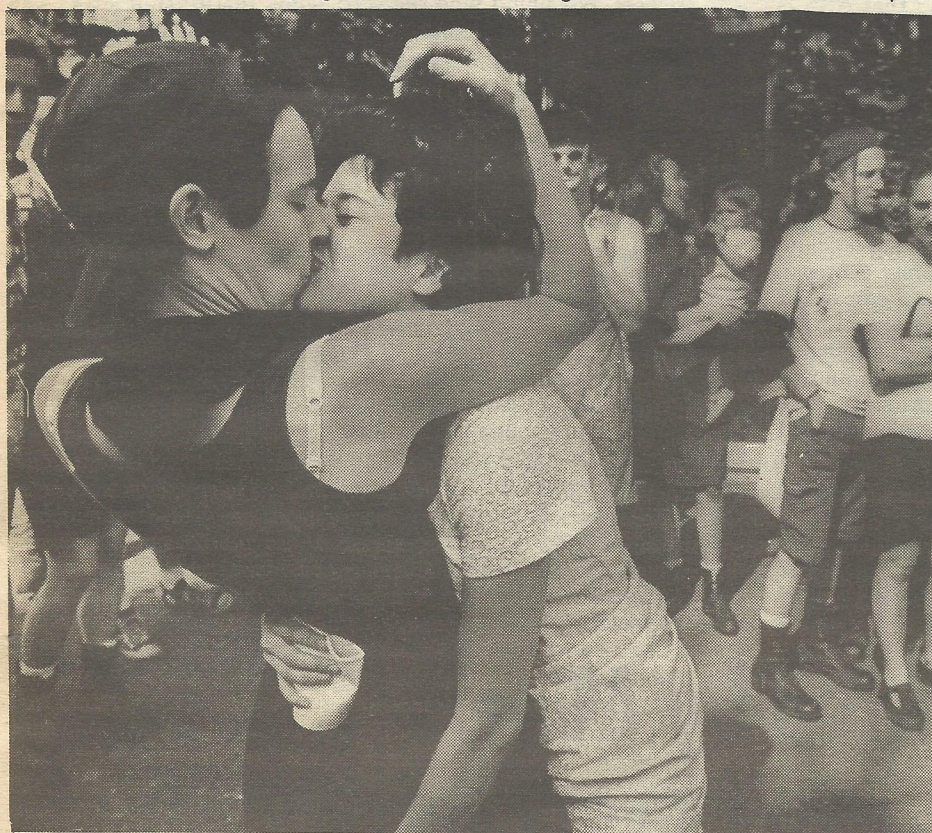
On Saturday morning, 2,000 defenders and escorts went to clinics throughout the Bay Area. OR began by having a prayer rally at downtown San Jose's Planned Parenthood (SJPP) where the only person taken into custody that day was a San Francisco anarchy-feminist and organizer of Food Not Bombs. OR couldn't do much on Saturday because of the numbers of pro-choice defenders and escorts at every clinic. At SJPP and other Planned Parenthoods, many defenders refused to

sign PP's non-violence code, and disputes broke out on questions of self-defense and of defenders moving OR if they come into position to close down a clinic. This dispute would continue all week with different clinics and organization insisting on non-violence until OR actually shows up, and then asking BACORR ("the radicals") for help in removing them when they actually laid siege to a clinic. This happened at Los Gatos Choice on Wednesday and at San Mateo Planned Parenthood on the second Saturday. But more on that later.

On Saturday afternoon, there was a rally that showed the breadth and diversity (and real differences) of the Bay Area pro-choice movement. Right after someone praised the police as defenders of our rights, someone else would denounce them. Politicians would speak and be praised, as well as denounced. There were rich and poor, white and non-white (although not enough non-white), separatist and inclusivist (of all stripes), men and women, straight, gay, and bi, and all types in between. There were people who consider themselves feminists and believe abortion is a vital part of women's liberation, and there were those who believe that abortion is to be avoided but still believe in a woman's right to choose. This was a classical "united front in action." We disagree on everything else except the right to choice, and physically keeping the clinics open.

The next day, Sunday, OR's main activity was to pray. Boy, did they need it. Already their numbers were less than they

(Continued to Page 19)



OR in Minnesota

(Continued from Page 1)

Cities had been organizing for months, and had to live here once all the frenzy died down. In their first of many flyers, they criticized anarchists who are only interested in "self-expression." After several small negotiating meetings between members of NWROC and the ACRF, where mostly all we heard was repeated rhetoric like "militant mass movement," "no reliance on cops, courts and Democrats," "militant mass movement..." our fears that they would disrupt our coalition organizing were great. An entire article could be devoted to explaining their annoying presence, but that would be a waste of time. Just one example paints their arrogance clearly: Members of NWROC insisted on having a demonstration for the Minnesota 8 (eight African-American men imprisoned unjustly in the shooting of a white cop). They did this without getting the basic facts of the situation, and after the Committee for Equal Justice for the Minnesota 8 (a group founded and lead by African-American women who have been organizing for close to a year) had told them they were not interested in having a demonstration for strategic reasons.

NWROC was here, at least for the week, and we could not ignore this very annoying fact; all we could hope was that these folks would not be completely disruptive. Many other activists from around the country came to Minneapolis for this week—anarchists from Chicago, Detroit, and New York, along with members of Refuse and Resist! and the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). These comrades made it clear that they were in Minneapolis to support and assist the organizers who lived here. They were essential in the defeat of OR, and I am grateful to them for coming.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

ACRF had decided to hold big, open, democratically run meetings during the "Week of Refuge." The purpose of these meetings was to assess the day's events and plan for the next day. We hoped that people who felt alienated and disempowered from the top-down organizing of the NEA would come to these meetings and participate in the actual decision-making of the group. These meetings were well attended and very long. One of the items that was repeatedly on the agenda was what organizational structure for clinic defense and demonstrations would we adhere to. We decided on following a structure proposed by anarchists which consist-

ed of a rotating coordinating committee, affinity groups, and runners. By the end of the week many non-anarchists were arguing against this model and for a more hierarchical structure; however, most anarchists feel like this was the most participatory and democratic way of organizing ourselves, and that it was a success.

MORE DIRECT ACTION

All this is a little background on what was the most intense, concentrated week of political work that members of AWOL (my political collective) have experienced in a very long time. On Friday, July 9, a demonstration was held at the church in the suburbs where OR had their kickoff rally. Close to one hundred protestors, dressed in black with masks on their faces surprised the few police and security, who were totally unprepared. We blocked cars from entering the driveway to the church, angrily chanting "The clinics are open, the church is closed!" Not only did we make an intimidating presence; we acted as a united raging force—it was clear that we would not passively sit around while OR was in town. In marched the cops, some in riot gear, but it was too late. Our point was made. Since we were not interested in having any demonstrators arrested, a legal picket line was formed on the grass in front of the church. Threatening "We'll see you tomorrow (at the clinic)," pro-choice activists rejoiced in a successful beginning to the week. Inside the church at which we were demonstrating, Pat Mahoney, one of their leaders, warned the congregation that OR was losing this battle waged against women. And for once he was right.

POKEY'S LAST STAND

Due to recent laws passed in Minnesota to protect abortion clinics, only a small number of protestors, anti-or pro-choice, were allowed to be on clinic property. The NEA had told two thousand volunteers to stay at home and wait to be called in. Members of the ACRF agreed that this was strategically unwise. What would happen when OR stormed the clinic? Would we all wait around for the police to slowly arrest those protestors blocking the clinic? We realized the potential for this scene to reoccur was great, and decided we would not let OR past the driveway. This meant mobilizing as many activists as possible, starting in the pre-dawn morning and staying until clinics closed for the day (much to the chagrin of the clinic higher-ups, who gave us a small space on the sidewalks and instructed us not to chant or cause trouble as they rolled their eyes).

What we expected at the clinics during

this week was a siege of hundreds of "pro-lifers" blocking and storming the clinics. What we got was no more than fifty of them at one time, and sometimes as few as five, picketing, smiling, singing, and praying. OR leaders claimed they were presenting themselves as they are—peaceful, loving, law-abiding citizens, but we knew better. We were aware that there were very few "pro-lifers" in Minneapolis who were willing to block clinics, possibly because of the intimidation radicals caused by being aggressively, and uncompromisingly confrontational. Also, I think people realized that this movement of the fetus-obsessed is actually dying. Except for a few minor skirmishes, like with a big, leather vested "pro-lifer" named Pokey and endless quibbles in the hot sun with members of NWROC, clinic defense was mostly noneventful, which was fine with us. The clinics remained open and accessible to women seeking abortions. Two of our comrades got arrested the first day, but charges were dropped. Even the red-shirted NEA members cheered us the last day, like they appreciated our strong presence.

POLICE RIOT

One of the more intense, action-packed days was on Sunday, July 11, when a demonstration was held outside Calvary Temple while churchgoers prayed for unborn fetuses. What they saw going into church was an outrageous, festive display of opposition. Around two hundred people were chanting slogans like "Pray, You'll Need It. Your Cause Has Been Defeated!," queers in drag were kissing and humping in the street, drums were banged, whistles shrieked, and the Church Ladies for Choice exuberantly lead the crowd in hymns such as "God is a Lesbian." Cops continuously attempted to push people behind the barricades, but to no avail. The crowd quieted down as the rally began. Suddenly, without warning, the police attacked the unsuspecting MS's who happened to be behind the barricades on "legal" territory. One was quickly thrown into a cop car, while protestors immediately surged to the other MC's defense. An unarrest seemed immanent, until the cops sprayed mace and pepper gas indiscriminately into the crowd, which included several small children. If the cops thought mace would control the crowd, they were mistaken. Angry, injured demonstrators linked arms and blocked the police car that the two protestors were in. The cops attacked the crowd, subsequently arresting four more demonstrators, one of whom was kneeling on the grass of a neighbor hosing the mace out of his eyes. Another cop car was

(Continued to page 19)

"Non-Violent" Clinic Defense San Diego Style

BY RICHARD BEUTH

PRO-CHOICE ACTIVISTS MET WITH A strange demand as they showed up at San Diego, CA clinics as part of anti-Operation Rescue actions around the country. Forces from Planned Parenthood greeted the clinic defenders with a loyalty oath, demanding that they sign a statement saying they were non-violent.

Supporters of Planned Parenthood then directed the police to remove the defenders who would not sign the "oath." People who went to the clinic to defend the rights of women then linked arms and risked arrest by men with guns and handcuffs ordered by the "non-violent" forces from Planned Parenthood.

Three clinic defenders were arrested and face possible fines of \$1000 for violating San Diego's new "bubble law." The law makes it a crime to demonstrate within 100 feet of a health care facility. Apparently the police treated the clinic defenders as "demonstrators." The law was supported by mainstream pro-choice forces.

from ROSE News Service

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Toronto and Ontario ARA Fight Fascists

Anti-Racist Action (ARA) has taken the initiative against fascists in Ontario.

OTTOWA: BEATING BACK THE BONEHEADS

On May 29 the Heritage Front, a neo-Nazi skinhead gang, held a recruiting concert at the Ottawa Boys and Girls Club which it had rented under false pretences. ARA organized a demonstration of 600 people outside the Club where 50 Nazis, mostly from Toronto, had met. Supposedly 100 recruits were to show up for the concert, but the protest prevented them from entering. As confrontations flared with the cops, many people including seniors and people with children left the scene to avoid a fight with the cops. More demonstrators left when they learned that the concert had been called off. Then the Nazis emerged and began what the next day's papers called a "running street battle" with the protestors who defended themselves against hails of rocks and beer bottles with the same. Seven "Church of the Creator" skinheads were arrested. ARA suffered no arrests. Heritage

Front vehicles used to bring the group to Ottawa had their tires slashed. The Front's recruiting drive was a failure, but ARA's membership is growing. ARA is doing education work to counter racist propaganda aimed at high school students. Local school boards have been reluctant to grant official status to the student-run education effort, especially after learning that ARA is already functioning in all the schools in the area.

from the *Industrial Worker*

TORONTO: TRASHING THE HOUSE OF HATE

On June 11 more than 200 people gathered at a downtown community center in Toronto for a demonstration called by Toronto Anti-Racist Action (ARA), and prepared to march to a Nazi center of operation known only to a few organizers. The secrecy of the destination enabled the demonstration to avoid over 50 boneheads with baseball bats and 2x4s, as well as the smug journalists and massive police presence waiting at what they assumed was the destination of the demonstration, the home of

Ernst Zundel, an international fascist leader, publisher and propagandist. Instead the target was the rented house which is the base of the local "telephone hotline" spewing forth filth and fascism daily as well as being one of the primary organizing tools of the neo-Nazi Heritage Front. When the demonstrators reached the street they distributed leaflets and stickers explaining who the neighborhood nazi was. Most of the residents of the racially diverse area supported the demonstration, and some joined in. The house was empty, but was soon covered in eggs and pink paint. Windows and doors were smashed, but the house was not

entered. Finally the decision was made to leave, as Toronto had not seen such a militant anti-fascist action before. A week after the demonstration anti-racists were being harassed by boneheads and sought by the police as well. The head of the Heritage Front, Wolfgang Droege, is being charged with dangerous weapons and aggravated assault for trying to seek retribution after the demonstration when ARA members were attacked—and successfully defended themselves—later that evening. One charge of assault against the police was brought against an anti-racist at the later event as well.

from *Prison News Service*

HAMILTON ANTI-RACIST ACTION

There is now an Anti-Racist Action in Hamilton, Ontario. It has been around for about seven months now. They have been holding meetings and working on ongoing projects such as anti-graffiti flyers and stickers. Contact them at:

Hamilton Anti-Racist Action
P.O. Box 57069
Jackson Station
Hamilton, ONT L8P 4W9

Yanomami Massacred by Miners

Infoshop Opens in Bay Area

Garimpeiros (goldminers) massacred at least 73 members of the Yanomami tribe in the Amazon during the months of July and August. Killings are a common occurrence in Roraima State, Brazil, where the greed of capitalism in the form of garimpeiros clashes with the subsistence land-based economy of the largest unassimilated tribe in the Americas. The blood bath occurred well within what is supposedly recognized as Yanomami National Park. The park was instituted by then-President Carlo Demello on November 15, 1991, in an attempt to gain international respectability.

In a communique translated by Brazilian activists, Davi Kopenawa Yanomami said:

"I would like to inform the world that the murder of my people continues.

A large number of Yanomami, including men, women, and children, were just killed by garimpeiros in villages located in the area of Homoxi and Xidea...

This has already happened several times since the first massacre in Paapiu in 1987. But, no one has ever been arrested or even punished for these acts.

I am revolted that they want to

kill my people...

...All the Yanomami are very worried by this massacre because it could happen to them too—in Catrimani, in Demini, in Toototobi, in Posto Yano, in Arac'a, and in other remote villages which do not have a FUNAI (National Indian Foundation) post, or a religious mission, or a National Health Foundation representative."

People interested in defending the rights of Yanomami people should contact:

The Amamaka'a Amazon Network at
(212) 674-4646.

A grand opening was held, on August 13 (Friday), for a new infoshop in Berkeley. It will be located in the Long Haul Cafe.

The infoshop will offer activists access to a wide range of publications, computer networking services, meeting and work space, and just generally the resources needed to do political work.

For more information please contact the infoshop at:

3124 Shattuck Ave
Berkeley CA 94705
tel: (510) 848 6466
email: resist@uclink.berkeley.edu

MRAAAOW More Than Ever Nine Months of Animal Liberation Actions

The following is a list of Animal Liberation actions over the past 9 months.

November 8, 1992, Minneapolis, MN—Swanson Meats has five trucks spraypainted with slogans "Meat Is Murder" and "ALF" and then set on fire, causing \$100,000 damage by the Animal Liberation Front (ALF). The building also had its locks glued.

December 17, 1992, Denver, CO—Lloyds Furs, Irv Ringler Furs, and Marks Furs were spraypainted with slogans and damaged with paint bombs by the Paint Panthers.

December 18, 1992, Aspen, Vail, Breckenridge, Keystone and Denver, CO—30 fur coats damaged after having red paint sprayed on them by the Paint Panthers.

December 20, 1992, Washington, DC—Saks Jandel Furs, Skandia Furs, Furs of Kiszely, Miller Furs, and Rosendorf Furs were damaged with paintbombs and spraypainted with slogans by the Paint Panthers.

December 25, 1992, Victoria, BC—McDonalds on Pandora Ave. had its windows smashed and was spraypainted with slogans by the ALF.

January 1, 1993, Victoria, BC—Williams Quality Meats had its locks jammed with toothpicks and glued shut by the ALF.

January 13, 1993, Cleveland, OH—Cikra Furs splashed with paint and slogans painted "Fur Kills" and "P.P." by the Paint Panthers.

February 8, 1993, New York City—The Fur Vault, Ritz Thrift Shop, Elizabeth Arden, Bloomingdales, Fendi Bergdorf Goodman, and Harold J. Rubin Furs damaged with paintbombs and spraypainted slogans "Fur Shame," "Blood \$," "Scum," and "Murderers" by the Paint Panthers.

April 14, 1993, Bethesda, MD—Three McDonalds, two Kentucky Fried Chickens, and a Honey Backed Ham were spraypainted with the slogan "Meat Is Murder" by the Meat Free Mission.

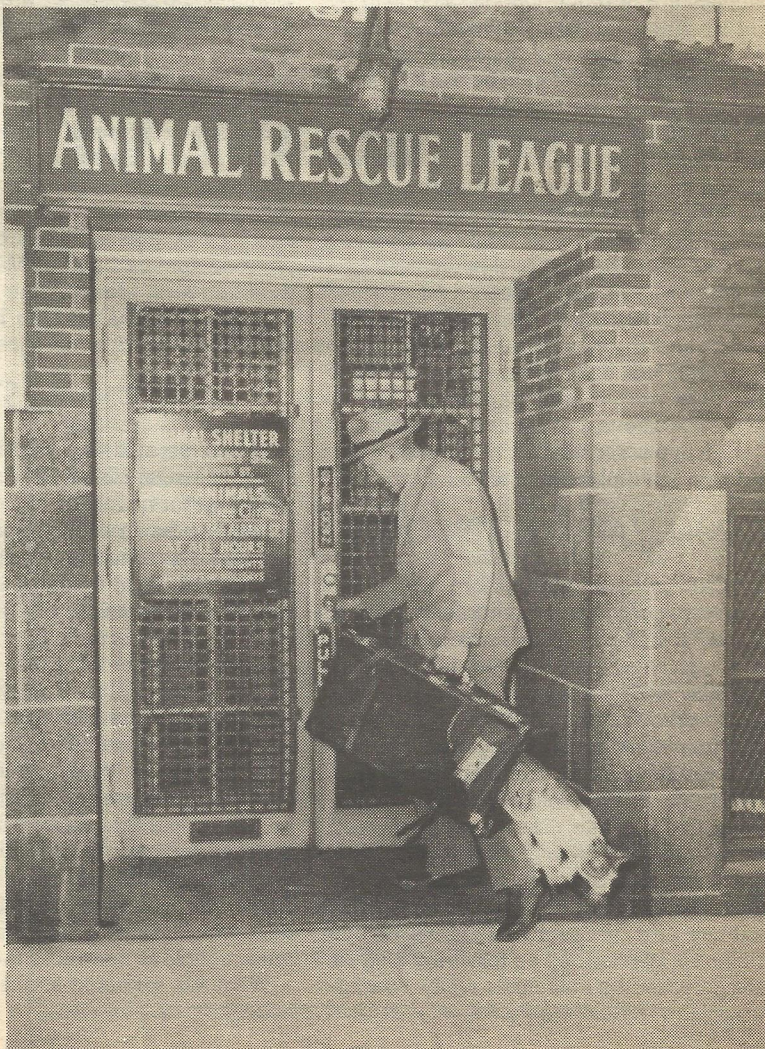
April 27, 1993, Maryland—Five vivisectioners had their homes spraypainted with the slogans "Animal Killers," "Leave Animals Alone!," and "Animal Torturer" by the Animal Avengers.

May 4, 1993, Montreal, PQ—Paradise Furs and another fur store were spraypainted with slogans by the Paint Panthers.

Actions against fur stores have also been reported in South Carolina, and other actions in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, and Seattle, but no further details are available yet.

For further information on the animal liberation movement contact:

Animal Liberation Front Supporters Group
P.O. Box 75029 Ritchie P.O.
Edmonton, AB, T6E 6K1



CALENDAR

Sept. 11
Chattanooga, Tennessee
Anti-Racist March and Conference
Support the Chattanooga 8!

November 9
Remember Pogrom-Nacht (Kristalnacht)
Day of Anti-Fascist Actions

January 15-16, 1994
Martin Luther King Jr. weekend
Love and Rage Federation Council
Meeting. Location to be announced

May 9, 1994
Tear Down the Borders!
International Day of Action Against
Immigration Controls/Anti-Immigrant
Violence

British Fascists Attack Anarchists

"The only way we could have been stopped was if our enemies had smashed us off the street from day one."

Adolf Hitler

IN THREE INCIDENTS Fascists have carried out attacks on anarchist centers in London. On March 27 masked members of Combat 18 attacked the premises of Freedom Press and Freedom Bookshop (publishers of Freedom newspaper, the Raven, and anarchist books). The attackers destroyed a computer and phones and threw stock around.

On the night of April 12 an attempt was made to burn down the 121 Center at 121 Raiton Rd. in Brixton. A white man was spotted at the back of the building with a can of gasoline and some twisted paper. He was chased off without doing any damage. Combat 18 is suspected of being involved in this incident as well.

On June 3, Freedom Press and Freedom Bookshop were attacked again, this time by arsonists who managed to burn out the bottom floor destroying the presses and printshop. The bookshop upstairs

Youth Resist Psychiatric Abuse

24-7: Notes From the Inside is a new zine by and for the growing number of adolescents institutionalized by the mental "health" system. It is published six times a year by Students and Teens Opposing Psychiatric Abuse Network. The STOP Abuse Network claims that in the past five years the hospitalization of teens has grown 600%. The zine is available free to those who have no money. Regular subscriptions are \$5 to \$10 for youth and \$15 to \$20 for adults from:

STOP Abuse Network
47 Cuvier Street
San Francisco, CA 94112

Network Forming

Wind Chill Factor is "organizing a decentralized, bottom-up network of autonomous groups and individuals for communication and mutual aid." They are distributing a proposal for this network, based on some of the existing autonomist networks in Europe. For a copy of this proposal write to:

Wind Chill Factor
P.O. Box 81961
Chicago, IL 60681

Radical Radio

An excellent collection of progressive and radical audio tapes and printed transcripts is available from Alternative Radio. The recordings are available both by mail and via satellite for radio stations that wish to broadcast them. The tapes are \$11 and the transcripts are \$7. Write for a free catalogue to:

David Barsamian
Alternative Radio
2129 Mapleton
Boulder, CO 80304
tel.: (303) 444-8788

suffered some fire damage as well.

Combat 18 is the paramilitary wing of the British National Party, a Nazi organization that split from the National Front and that has consistently taken part in violent attacks on Black and Asian communities. Four Black people have been murdered by the fascists in London since 1989.

Messages of support and money may be sent to:

Freedom Press
84B Whitechapel High St.
London E1 7AX
England

Cove/Mallard Camp in Idaho:

Feds Attack Earth First!

ON SUNDAY, AUGUST 8, 30-40 armed federal agents raided the Cove/Mallard activist base camp near Dixie, Idaho. Earth First! (EF!), the Ancient Forest Bus Brigade, Seeds of Peace, and others have been maintaining a camp and engaging in nonviolent protest throughout this summer and last in opposition to roadbuilding and logging in the Cove and Mallard roadless areas of the Nez Perce National Forest. These roadless areas are contiguous with the largest roadless wilderness in the lower 48. Many rare and imperiled plant and animals species survive here. The 20-acre base camp was purchased by EF! next to a section of the forest

in under assault.

Nonviolent, direct action defense of the Cove and Mallard roadless areas began last summer and is ongoing. Many people have been arrested (some of whom face felony charges) in protest actions aimed at slowing the building of 145 miles of new roads and logging of over 80 million board feet of timber. However, the raid on Aug 8 marks an escalation by the Forest Service in their attempt to quell opposition to the Cove and Mallard timber sales. Agents held activists at gunpoint while they ransacked the camp, making off with much communal gear as well as personal items, money, credit cards and

Transgender Rage Against The Psychiatric Establishment

This is the text of a speech given by Susan Stryker, founding member of Transgender Nation, at the demonstration against the annual meeting of the American Psychiatric Association on May 23, 1993. The demonstration was organized by a coalition of mental health/psychiatry survivors as well as Transgender Nation, who came together to denounce forced drugging, electroshock, forced institutionalization, and the attitudes of established psychiatry, who to this day define transsexuality as a mental illness. The text appeared originally in Slingshot:

LIKE MANY OF YOU HERE today, transgendered people—we who are transsexuals, transvestites, butch women, drag queens, who are physically intersexed, or who embrace any behavior or identity that crosses over or moves between the dominant culture's notion of male and female—we have been abused by the medical and psychiatric professions. Babies born with ambiguous genitals have had their bodies surgically altered without their consent, and often without even the consent of their parents. Children who exhibit gender or sexual behaviors that challenge the rigidity of conventional sexual or gender roles have been subjected to coercive behavior modifica-

tion techniques in psychiatric clinics in order to prevent them from becoming gay or transsexual adults. Transsexual women who choose to transform their bodies so that others can see them the way they see themselves have been raped by the therapists who enabled their genital reconstruction surgery. We have been compelled to exchange sexual services for hormones. If we are male-to-female transsexuals who love other women we must be silent about our sexual orientation or risk having surgery denied us. If we are female-to-male gay men we have been told by the so-called experts on transsexuality that we simply don't exist.

We have been arrested, institutionalized, drugged, shocked, beaten, and emotionally assaulted just because we insist on expressing ourselves the way we choose, leading the lives we want to live, being the people we want to be. These are things we transgendered people share with many of the non-transgendered survivors of psychiatric abuse. We, too get fucked over by power because we're different. We stand with you in solidarity to protest. We raise our voices with yours to demand that this mistreatment stop. We work along side you to bring these crimes to an end.

UPS Struggle Continues

By KIERAN FRAZIER AND SCOTT L.

NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN United Parcel Service and the International Brotherhood [sic] of Teamsters continues as this issue goes to press.

The contract was scheduled to expire on Aug 1 but has since been extended indefinitely. Either side must give a five work-day notice to cut-off negotiations.

But the real battle between workers and capital are waged not in negotiations but on the hub floors, where tensions are definitely on the increase. UPS management has upped the general level of harassment of the workforce by increasing "auditing" of employees' "work-methods," and more strictly enforcing work rules. Letters have been sent to all workers from UPS regional directors with the not-so-subtle threat that there will be lay-offs if the negotiations drag on and package volume drops. Militants have been fired for distributing Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) literature on the clock and for wearing anti-UPS t-shirts that contain profanity.

UPS workers aren't taking all of this lying down. In Miami dozens of Teamsters, fists in the air, protested the firing of a fellow worker and demanded a fair con-

tract. In Minneapolis management backed down after interfering with the distribution of literature. Contract updates produced by the International Union, TDU and autonomous local newsletters, such as Part-timers With An Attitude from Northern California, are being distributed to workers in practically every UPS hub, often without the help or even against the will of the anti-reform local Teamster officials.

A t-shirt craze has caught on. Black TDUs in Kansas City have produced a shirt that proclaims, "They can't run the tightest ship without the galley-slaves" [see graphic Love and Rage June/July] and sold hundreds. Another popular shirt from a Milwaukee local has a fist holding a lightning bolt, with the slogan, "I don't want to strike but I will!"

If there is a strike at UPS it would be one of the largest and most significant strikes in recent years. Anarchists should consider assisting local strike committees, doing benefit gigs, and being present at picket lines, ready for action.

For more info:
Love and Rage Minneapolis
PO Box 581354
Minneapolis, MN 55458-1354

ID's. The Forest Service claims that the raid was motivated by alleged tree spiking in Cove/Mallard. A Grand Jury investigation is being convened.

Grand Jury investigations have been used to disrupt the Civil Rights, American Indian, and Sanctuary movements, and most recently the Animal Rights movement. Author Rik Scarce has been in jail about three months now for refusing to testify before a Grand Jury [see ABC section, this issue].

Organizers are going to need some serious legal and financial help. To offer legal help:

Randall Restless (406) 585-9211
(rnf@igc.apc.org)

Send donations to:
EF! Direct Action Fund, PO Box 210,
Canyon, CA 94516. Idaho Forever Wild!!
—compiled from electronic sources
including the Native Forest

OTHER ANARCHIST CONTACTS

This is a short list of some other anarchist resources. We don't have the space to be comprehensive, so we chose items which cover a broad range of anarchist ideas and activity

PUBLICATIONS

Alphabet Threat
3018 J Street No. 140, Sacramento, CA
95816 (0-6\$/6 issues)
-a (roughly) bi-monthly, wimmin-centered newspaper, articles on sexuality, revolt, and other fun stuff

Anarchy c/o CAL, POB 1446, Columbia,
MO 65205-1446
(\$12/6 issues/18 months)
-a quarterly journal, also somewhat on the theoretical side, but with a situationist angle, news, lots of letters, lots of periodical reviews

Arm The Spirit
PO Box 6326 Stn A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1P7
CANADA
(\$10/10 issues)
-an anti-imperialist, autonomist journal, reports on international movements of armed resistance

Bayou La Rose
c/o Wesley Everest, Educ. Proj.,
302 N "J" Street
No. 3, Tacoma, WA 98403
-news on native struggles, ecological struggles, and more

Fifth Estate
4632 2nd Ave., Detroit, MI 48201
(\$6/4 issues)
-a quarterly paper, somewhat on the theoretical side, with a primitivist angle, news, reviews, letters

Ideas and Action
POB 40400, San Francisco, CA 94140
(\$11.50/4 iss)
-the annual publication of the Workers Solidarity Alliance, an anarcho-syndicalist (anarchist union) group, news and analysis about labor, the anarchist movement, the world

Industrial Worker
1095 Market Street #204, San Francisco,
CA 94103 (\$10/year)
-monthly (roughly) publication of the Industrial Workers of the World (also anarcho-syndicalists), news, letters, analysis, labor movement stuff

Profane Existence
POB 8722 Mpls, MN 55408
(\$9/6 issues)
-an anarcho-punk paper, with band reviews, anarchist news and history, and scene reports

Rebelles
Les Editions Rouges et Noir, CP-205,
succursales "C", Montréal,
Québec H2L 4K1
(\$10/year 6 issues)
-monthly French-language anarchist paper, lots of news and analysis

Wind Chill Factor
POB 81961, Chicago, IL 60681
(\$15cash/year)
-a creative bi-monthly (roughly) with letters, polemical tirades, some ongoing discussions, reviews, and Chicago and international news

SOURCES FOR LITERATURE

Most if not all of these folks will sell you anarchist literature by mail.

@Distribution
Box 021835, Brooklyn, NY 110112

AYF Distribution
PO Box 8585,
Mpls, MN 55408

Bound Together Books
1369 Haight St,
San Francisco, CA 94117

Ediciones Antorcha
c/o Chantal López y Omar Cortés, Apdo.
12-818, CP 03020, México, DF,
MEXICO

Left Bank Books
92 Pike St., Seattle, WA 98101

Librarie Alternative
2035 Boulevard St. Laurent Montréal,
Québec H2X 2T3, CANADA

Perennial Books
PO Box 814,
Montague, MA 01351

Wooden Shoe Books
112 South 20th St.,
Philadelphia, PA 19103

Hotlines

Chicago: (312) 455-0707
Minneapolis: (612) 729-5496

(Continued to Page 19)

Activist Primer On Ex-Yugoslavia

By BILL WEINBERG

THE MAINSTREAM MEDIA repeatedly characterizes the war raging in the Balkans as the result of "ancient ethnic rivalries" which were kept under the lid by the old communist regime of Yugoslavia—and have exploded since that regime fell apart. This is not only a dangerous oversimplification, but it is also racist—implying that Slavs are inherently violent nationalist fanatics, in contrast to "civilized" Western Europeans and Americans. This pseudo-explanation ignores political context—and the complicity of the Western powers in the destruction of Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia had been a multi-national state. Each of its six constituent republics (Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Macedonia, Montenegro) had a separate national identity shaped, in large part, by the various imperial powers which have vied for control over the Balkans for centuries. In the north, Slovenia and Croatia had been under the control of Germanic powers such as the Holy Roman Empire, and later the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and therefore became Roman Catholic. In the south, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia, under the Byzantine Empire, became Eastern Orthodox.

Bosnia, a remote and mountainous region between the two spheres of influence, was never effectively under the control of either, but developed its own "heresy" with populist and anti-authoritarian overtones, known as Bogomilism, which the Catholic powers vigorously tried to exterminate. When the Turkish Ottoman Empire started its drive to conquer the Balkans in the Fourteenth Century, they gave the Bogomils support in their struggle against the Catholics. When the Turks finally took power, they were therefore welcomed by the Bogomils—who subsequently converted to Islam, the official state religion of the Ottoman Empire. They became today's Bosnian Muslims.

The Serbs, on the other hand, bitterly resented Turkish domination. The Albanians, a non-Slavic people who were an ethnic minority in the southern Serbian region of Kosova and had resented living under Serbian rule, also welcomed the Turks and accepted Islam. Since Kosova had been the scene of a decisive 1389 battle where the Serbs were defeated by the Turks, it became an important symbol of Serbian nationalism.

For centuries thereafter, the Balkans were the scene of a massive power struggle between the Ottoman Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In the Nineteenth Century, both nationalism and the idea of South Slav or "Yugoslav" unity began to emerge. Serbia secured its independence as the Ottoman Empire declined. But the new conflict between Serbia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire plunged all of Europe into the First World War in 1914, with the Great Power alliance of Russia, Britain and the US lining up with Serbia, while the rival alliance of Germany and the Turks lined up with the Austro-Hungarians. Croats and Slovenes, conscripted into the Austro-Hungarian army, were pitted against Serbs.

After the war, the victorious Britain and the US, in cooperation with local forces that aspired to South Slav unity, created the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, uniting the six nations under a common state for the first time. But the Yugoslav state was built on the Serbian monarchy, and shortly descended into a dictatorship.

The tensions this system bred exploded with the rise of fascism and the Second World War. Nazi Germany invaded in 1941, occupying Serbia and establishing an "independent" puppet state in Croatia under the Ustashe, a Croatian fascist organization. The Ustashe established death camps and carried out genocide against thousands of Serbs, as well as Jews and Romani ("gypsies").

(Continued on Page 17)

Bougainville Resists Toxic Imperialism

By MATTHEW SPHINK

BOUGAINVILLE IS A SMALL island in the South Pacific, northeast of Australia, currently waging a struggle against imperialism and ecological destruction.

Before imperial domination the island had no formal government. It was first invaded by Germany in 1898. The Australian military took hold of the island from 1914 to 1942 when the Japanese forced them out. The islanders at first welcomed the Japanese, seeing in them an alternative to the European outsiders. They were to be disappointed.

After the war Australia regained control of the island. It was during this period that massive deposits of copper and other minerals were discovered. Previous to 1965 land on the island was controlled by the women; the 1964 discovery of copper and the Australians' subsequent parceling off of land to select male inhabitants changed all this, creating a local ruling class. The richest member of this neo-colonial clique was Matthew Cove, later killed by the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA). The aspiring imperialists of Papua New Guinea (PNG) were given hegemony over the island in 1974, a year before their own official independence from Australia.

Copper mining on the main island of Papua and on Bougainville became the mainstay of the PNG economy. In the early 1980's, PNG was the second largest producer of copper in the world. Much of the copper originated on Bougainville in the Panguna open pit copper mine (the largest open pit copper mine on Earth, accounting for one-third of the GNP of PNG). On a spot where once reposed a small mountain is now a hole 2-1/2 miles wide, 1-1/2 miles long and 1/3 of a mile deep. Stock in Bougainville Copper Unlimited (BCU) is owned by the Conzinc Riotinto Corporation Ltd. of Australia (54%), the PNG government (20%) and the "public" (26%). The miners consist of

imported workers from the island of Papua (85%) and members of the indigenous Nasioi ethnic group (15%). Management was provided by an all white imported staff. Despite this there are unsubstantiated reports of job action taking place at Panguna during the 1970s.

Since production began in 1972, the mining operation has been subject to opposition from the islanders. Women, rightful owners of the land, fearing the destruction of their agrarian permaculture, played an important role in this struggle. BCU has graciously offered to turn the mine into a lake approximately 25 years from now when the deposit is exhausted. Unfortunately, strip-mining has already decimated the ecology of the island.

Bougainville declared independence in 1975, forming the BRA out of local militias. Weapons were smuggled in, captured from imperialist troops or constructed out of available materials. In 1989 many parts of the island were taken by the BRA and in May of that year the mine was shut down. The immense digging machines used at Panguna were sabotaged. Mountainous conditions and popular support for the BRA prevented an easy victory for PNG which withdrew its military from the island. Bougainville is now subject to a naval blockade imposed by PNG with the help of Australia. Although liberated areas on the island are self sufficient in food production, the blockade does make for a diet of vegetables for the islanders as fishing boats are fired upon.

The military of PNG is largely supported by Australia. The 600 Highlands Regiment, the PNG equivalent to the Green Berets, trains with the Australian Military. The PNG military also trains with the Indonesian Defense Forces, noted for their genocidal behavior on East Timor. Fifty million dollars in military aid has been awarded to PNG by Australia, who sells them weapons at half price.

(Continued on Page 19)

Japanese Anti-Racists Fight Deportations

By N. KURO

IN THE NAME OF "PROTECTING azaleas," Japanese police and immigration authorities carried out a raid on immigrants in Tokyo's Yoyogi Park on May 9. Although the 200 police who were mobilized for this attack anticipated a simple operation, they were met with unexpected resistance from Japanese anti-racists. Anarchists, working with the anti-racist group Inoken, took part in this action.

The anti-racists, numbering about 20, scuffled with police, kicking, spitting and throwing stones to prevent the immigrants, mostly Iranians, from being taken away in paddywagons. At one point, a woman activist took her shirt off to the horror of police and onlookers. When a paddywagon tried to drive off, activists sat down in front of it to block its path. 50 police were required to clear the path.

Despite the resistance, when the day was over, 102 immigrants were arrested, the largest number ever in such a sweep. Most of them were promptly deported.

Yoyogi Park had been an important meeting place for many foreign workers in Japan. Every Sunday the park became "Little Teheran," with up to 5,000 foreigners, mostly Iranians but also

Chinese, Philipinos, Malaysians and other nationalities, gathering to relax and socialize. These foreign workers, many of them undocumented, are institutionally marginalized in this extremely racist and xenophobic society. The park was the one free, open meeting place where they could come together.

Since April, however, the police and park authorities have been fencing off areas of the park, claiming that this was necessary for the replanting of damaged azalea shrubs. It was clearly a move to eliminate foreigners from the park. Throughout the park, threatening signs were put up in English, Chinese and Farsi stating that undocumented residents will be "strictly dealt with." The May 9 raid was the final successful push by the authorities in eradicating the park as a meeting place for these immigrants.

This current assault has taken place in the context of a larger



原宿神宮橋下に陣どり、連続アピール。Utterances with rage against Police and Immigration Control Bureau at speakers coaner/ Harajuku.

assault on immigrant workers. During Japan's economic prosperity, undocumented foreign workers were given the most dangerous, lowest paying and most grueling jobs. Now, with the recession, these workers are considered expendable and are being actively targeted for deportation. While the media smears the immigrant community as a nest of crime and drugs, this most recent assault serves as a warning and a threat to the immigrant communities.

Japan's far right is embold-

ened by such actions, which they consider a confirmation of their anti-foreigner positions. The anti-immigrant attacks sweeping Europe give both the far right and the government the moral encouragement to step up attacks on Japan's own immigrants and to see these actions as part of a global trend. The established left, meanwhile, has almost completely ignored the issue, leaving opposition in the hands of younger activists such as those of Inoken.★

A Window on Cuba—And the World

BY NOEL IGNATIEV

CASTRO, THE BLACKS, AND Africa, by Carlos Moore, published in 1988 by UCLA Press, provides valuable insight into the history and present character of Cuban society, as well as into recent turns in world politics. Here, in outline, is the argument:

1. The Castro government is the latest of the bourgeois white regimes that have ruled Cuba since independence from Spain at the turn of the century, and its racial policies, even where they

is made up of the descendants of slaves. Its radical sectors adopt a paternalistic attitude toward the Afro-Cubans, viewing them as primitive and in need of guidance. Thus in their early years in power Fidel Castro and the white "revolutionaries" around him insisted that the Revolution had abolished color discrimination and that any attempt to raise the race problem or to treat Afro-Cubans as a distinct constituency was "divisive" and even "counter-revolutionary."

2. Cuba's Africa policy in the

contempt for the dignity and aspirations of the peoples of Africa that it showed toward Afro-Cubans at home. However, it led the ruling class to shift from official color-blindness to a no-less-repressive color-awareness.

3. Cuba's internal and external policies influenced and reacted on each other, but their net effect was to leave the Afro-Cuban population at the bottom of society.

From the moment it determined it was on a collision course with the US, the Castro

Stokely Carmichael, was accompanied by an outpouring of propaganda explaining why the situation of "our blacks" was different from the US and why, therefore, Black Power was an inappropriate slogan for Cuba. The fiction of color-blindness was carried to the extreme of refusing to publish census statistics on race, and of regularly and seriously understating the proportion of the population of African descent (which Moore estimates at one-half). Underlying the official

of a right which Afro-Cubans had won for themselves, and moreover as if access to public facilities was what the black soldiers had fought for—Castro called upon them to "Produce as much as your slave grandfather."

Throughout the 1960s the Cuban leadership had directed its external efforts toward what it called Latin America. When its policy of exporting the Revolution in the Western Hemisphere showed itself to have stalled for the time being, it shifted its attention toward Africa. The decision to launch the Africa adventures forced the ruling class to introduce an "affirmative action" policy for black Cubans—as diplomats and soldiers in Africa. (Castro justified military intervention there by speaking of the "African blood" flowing through the veins of the Cuban people; as Moore points out, the US could justify its own meddling on the same grounds.) To aid in enlisting Afro-Cubans to carry out its plans, the Castro group brought more black faces into visible positions in the state. None of these innovations showed official approval of self-directed Afro-Cuban activity, any more than do Colin Powell, Clarence Thomas, or the black mayors of US cities. (Cuba is still behind the US in numbers of blacks in government.) For example, at the same time it was trumpeting its solidarity with Africa, the regime prevented a group of Cuban intellectuals from issuing a manifesto on Afro-Cuban identity at one of the international cultural congresses it was so fond of sponsoring.

Moore recounts resistance to the repressive white regime, including an underground black organization, and the tremendous strength of the African religions in Cuba, which paralyzed the port of Havana in a 24-hour strike. (By his account, the African religions fulfill much the same function they did in slavery days there and, for that matter, in the US, and also have many non-black adherents. They are the targets of an official and multi-faceted campaign of cultural assassination.) He reports that US communist leader Angela Davis's 1972 visit was the occasion of a tremendous outpouring of Afro-Cuban self-assertion, not because of anything she said, but because she was a black woman with "natural" hair—something which up until then was labelled deviant behavior—who could not be dismissed as an imperialist agent.

In the 1962 Appendix to *The Black Jacobins* (New York: Vintage, 1963), entitled "From Toussaint L'Ouverture to Fidel Castro," C.L.R. James wrote:

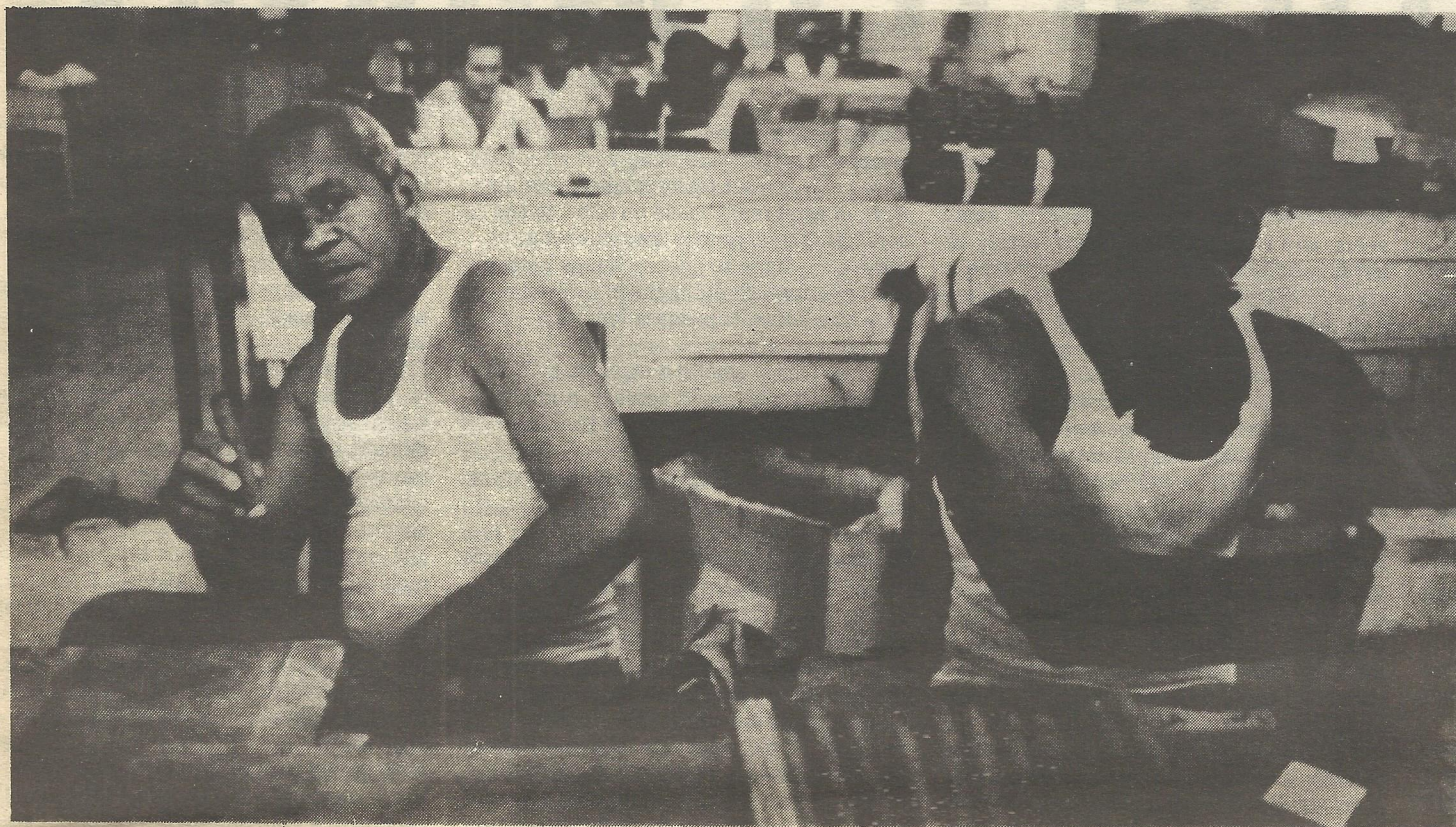
The sugar plantation has been the most civilizing as well as the most demoralizing influence in West Indian development. When three centuries ago the slaves came to the West Indies, they entered directly into the large-scale agriculture of the sugar plantation, which was a modern system. It further required that the slaves live together in a social relation far closer than any proletariat of the time.... The Negroes, therefore, from the very start lived a life that was in its essence a modern life....

....The sugar plantation dominated the lives of the islands to such a degree that the white skin alone saved those who were not plantation owners or bureaucrats from the humiliations and hopelessness of the life of the slave. That was and is the pattern of West Indian life....

...Cuba is the most West Indian island in the West Indies.

While others have pointed out the bureaucratic and statist defor-

(Continued to page 17)



appear distinctive, are determined by the same considerations that governed those of its predecessors. The Creole bourgeoisie, largely of Spanish origin, is squeezed between US imperialism and the working class, which

1970s, when it intervened militarily in Angola and the Horn of Africa, was part of its continuing attempt to develop its own base in world politics, in order to reduce its dependence on the Soviet Union. It manifested the same

regime faced problems in courting black revolutionaries abroad, including the US, while vigorously opposing any autonomous black expression in Cuba. Thus, the 1967 visit to Havana of the main spokesman for Black Power,

drive to increase production was the effort to intensify the exploitation of the black Cubans. While reminding Afro-Cubans of how much the Revolution had done for them—as if opening the beaches, etc. was a gift instead

Cuban Dissidents Reject Washington/Miami Control

BY BILL WEINBERG

ROLANDO PRATS PAEZ OF the Havana-based dissident group Corienta Socialista Democrática (Democratic Socialist Current) recently scored a media coup with a New York Times guest editorial piece calling for lifting the US embargo of Cuba—a view which is heresy for the monolithic Miami-based right-wing exile establishment dominated by Jorge Mas Canosa's Cuban American National Foundation. But Prats says what his group

stands for is "ni Castrismo ni Mas Canismo"—they reject the autocracies of both Fidel Castro and his rightist arch-rival.

The Democratic Socialist Current finds harsh challenges to this iconoclastic position from both sides. Their literature is produced and copied entirely by typewriter, and distributed by a hand-to-hand network, as samizdat was in Eastern Europe. Yet the group sees accepting support from foreign governments or outside interests as a threat to its basic principles.

In 1991, members of the Democratic Socialist Current launched the General Cuban Workers' Union (UGTC by its Spanish acronym) to provide legal and political support for employees in dispute with state managers. Among the founders was Vladimiro Roca, a Cuban Air Force fighter pilot and economist who is also the son of Blas Roca—longtime head of Cuba's Communist Party and a titanic figure in the nation's history. Vladimiro's 1991 press conference announcing that he was joining Democratic Socialist Current sent shockwaves throughout Cuba's political establishment.

Within a year, the UGTC leadership had been hijacked by a group working in cooperation with both the Cuban American National Foundation and the American Institute for Free Labor Development, the AFL-CIO's international wing which has already gained control over worker and peasant movements in El Salvador, elsewhere in Latin America, and now ex-Communist countries. But Roca and others

who remained loyal to the Democratic Socialist Current would have none of it. They split and formed the UGTC-I. The "I" stands for "Independiente". Independent from what? "The United States government," chuckles Rolando Prats.

Democratic Socialist Current founder Elizardo Sanchez is also president of the unofficial Comisión Cubana de Derechos Humanos y Reconciliación Nacional (Cuban Commission for Human Rights & National Reconciliation). His human rights activities landed him a two-year prison term in 1990—and won him recognition as a "prisoner of conscience" by Amnesty International. Released three months before his term expired, Sanchez was recently allowed to leave Cuba for a speaking tour in Europe and the Americas—a move which can be credited to international pressure. However, since his release, Sanchez has been targeted for violent harassment in Havana by the pro-government "spontaneous" street mobs known as the Rapid Reaction Brigades.

More radical anarchist and anti-militarist groups linked to the semi-taboo punk youth culture also exist in Cuba—such as Movimiento Pacifista Solidaridad y Paz (Solidarity & Peace Pacifist Movement), several of whose members were sentenced to prison after a protest at the Department of State Security in 1991. However, the absence of a scene in which young people can meet and network in a free atmosphere has prevented such small and marginal groupings from developing into a

real movement. With Cuba's deep economic crisis—the result of both the US embargo and the collapse of the Soviet bloc—even bars, clubs and restaurants have been shut down. Virtually the only ones which continue to function are those which cater to the tourist trade—which only take foreign currency and are effectively off-limits to Cubans. Meetings in people's homes are promptly reported to the authorities by the state-controlled neighborhood watch groups, the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs).

UGTC and UGTC-I continue to exist as rival alternatives to the official state-controlled workers' organizations in Cuba. Both remain small and marginalized. Prats calls UGTC-I an "auxiliary force for groups trying to open a political space in Cuba."

Unfortunately, the US left is as blind as the elites of Havana and Miami to the existence of Cuban political forces outside of the two ossified opposing blocs. This blindness is likely to play into the hands of Mas Canosa and his ilk when cracks finally start to emerge in Fidel's grip on power. Elements such as UGTC-I and the Democratic Socialist Current which insist on charting an autonomous course deserve the solidarity of like-minded stateside activists.

Democratic Socialist Current can best be reached through their Miami contact:

Tony Santiago
1040 S.W. 27th Ave.,
Miami, FLA 33135
—from On Gogol Boulevard
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The Fierce Pussy Festival is an all- day festival taking place on August 28 in Tompkins Square Park on the Lower East Side of New York City. The two main organizers of the event, Karissa and Tatiana were interviewed by Love and Rage in late July.

Q: What's the thinking behind Fierce Pussy Fest?

Tatiana: The festival will start at 12 o'clock and will include tabling by political groups and services, AIDS organizations, health-care groups, people who work on all kinds of different issues, we're trying to contact

defines a political gathering, we feel like having the Fierce Pussy Fest is a political act in itself, naming it the Fierce Pussy Fest, was a political statement, we're saying fuck you, we're gonna use that word, we're gonna decide what it means for us. Its a really bad formula to give a speech to somehow organize, its not a good formula for outreach to just be inundated with speeches. We want to encourage people to bring their tables, so that there's a human being there that can talk to you and give you information. We will have speakers but we're looking for a couple of people whose lives are political statements,

the smoke-in to each other, we were disappointed actually that so many white men, middle-aged white men, one group after the other it was almost a parody. It was like they were trying to put on the middle-aged white men's show, and I personally empathized with the people who threw things at the stage because I know a lot of them probably had aspirations to be on stage there that day. They probably could do a better job, people in the audience. They had the banner from last year with the number painted the next year.

Tatiana: Its an example of what happens a

Karissa: There was a collective, the Fierce Pussy, the lesbian visibility wheat past-ing/activism collective. I swear, on my mother's grave, that we did not know about them. I've seen their posters, like can you spot the dyke in this picture, there are six of them, and they're a white middle class lesbian group, collective, as far as we know, that's the impression. The lesbian avengers told us about them because it was very unclear by their posters that they were called Fierce Pussy, they were very elusive and secretive, and we had a hard time. Finally we received a fax and it was basically "WE ARE Fierce Pussy how dare

FIERCE PUSSY FEST INTERVIEW

as wide a range as possible of people, and invite them to come let people from the neighborhood know that they're out there, sort of as a resource. It'll also include a whole slew of strange and bizarre things, like a six ft pussy, a six ft foam pussy, you can get your picture taken with your head coming out of it, the fierce pussy palace.

Karissa: We have fire eaters and fire breathers.

Tatiana: Whatever artwork wimmin want to bring. There are a couple of wimmin who are thinking of doing installations, bringing out artwork, drawings, paintings, its wide open, totally uncensored, we're just trying to encourage people to participate however they want, we're leaving it up to the people there.

Q: Its not just primarily music?

Tatiana: The concert will begin at three, the festival will take place in the park all day long, the concert has been allotted four hours. The festival will include bands, wimmin artists and poets, dance, a couple of speakers, but we've really been careful to stay away from lots of speeches cause we really feel like people get bored with them, especially around here the same people get up on stage and say the same damn thing year after year.

Karissa: I personally feel that art precedes politics anyway, and a lot of politics is catch up. The whole idea of a stage is really weird to begin with, kind of a western concept of observing art as opposed to participating in it. I think that the origins of art are more entwined in the rhythms of every day life, art is something used to heal people, to express something, to bring a community together, its something that people participate in.

I don't know how we even got to this point where we feel like you go on stage and make a speech and that that's what

Valerie Jimenez, who's HIV positive, who lost her husband to AIDS recently, she's a mother, a Puerto Rican womyn who's lived in the neighborhood for many years, and is an activist, she's donating all her time to Housing Works, her life to me is a very high political statement, whatever defines political, she is really out there swinging, so we're giving her five minutes to talk about that.

Tatiana: I think that also part of what led us on to launching this project, for me, I felt like everywhere I looked I saw these examples of wimmin being abused, wimmin being disrespected, all around me. It was making me crazy, it was making me feel so powerless and so angry, so I decided to turn it around and make something that I wanted to see. I've experienced the most uplifting, creative moments with other wimmin, I really think we share something, or we can.

I feel like my creative energy or whatever you call it is very sensitive and very easily hurt, you have to be feeling very safe and confident to access it. We're hoping that that will happen here in the park. We're talking about wimmin wimmin wimmin. I just wanted to point out that there are about five or six men working behind the lines that don't really want a lot of credit or glory but who have made this thing possible, with donations and computer time and photocopies, there are two kinds of people who say they wanna help: people who offer very real practical help, and then there's the other end of it of men who somehow want to support it by being on stage, and taking the time away that we've set aside for wimmin to be creative (laugh).

Q: How did you decide to organize the Fierce Pussy Fest?

Karissa: So we were having breakfast it was the day after the smoke-in [a marijuana smoke-in in central park that turned into a riot.—PG.] We were complaining about

lot of the time when the same group of people does the same thing year after year after year, doesn't really think of anything new, doesn't really make an effort to say something new or to re-examine what they're saying or to approach new problems or approach problems in a different way, you know its laziness I guess.

Karissa: This is what led up to that. We were pretty depressed actually, number one there were no wimmin on the stage

Tatiana: That was the main thing we were pissed off at.

Karissa: We pretty much felt like the people in the crowd, where are the artists that speak to me? Cause they do exist, there are people in this neighborhood that are hauling their equipment around all over this city and other places, getting mediocre gigs and very blue-collar, they're hard working people, where were they? We've been inundated with people wanting to play. We wish we had eight hours, they do exist in huge amounts, wimmin with a message, with great talent that want to be heard. So we really didn't have any problem finding them.

Q: how do you see wimmin being treated within the radical scene on the Lower East Side?

Karissa: Ignored. I think there are a few very powerful wimmin that have to almost fistfight to get their two cents in. I'm tired of being talked over, because I'm not willing to scream in somebody's face to get my point across. Yes I will resort to that if I must but not on a daily basis. Its just this kind of drunken brawl happening, that turns off a lot of wimmin

Tatiana: Another thing is that some of our most vehement opposition has been from wimmin.

you use our name, we spent three months trying to come up with that name." It took us 3 seconds, it was already in our vocabulary, "we want some fierce pussies on stage." I've seen it around. We were horrified, it was a very nasty, snippy, fax, "choose another name", we apologized and asked to meet them, no response for 4 weeks. They didn't believe that we had never heard of them. We got a legal letter "cease and desist, Fierce Pussy is not in the public domain, you're gonna have to turn over proceeds" from the free concert, they claimed to own the name. We were shocked by being attacked this way by a lesbian visibility collective. I thought the male supremacists would come after us for sure but no, it was the lesbian visibility collective. There are a couple of people with whom we've had conversations about the word pussy and they've been uncomfortable with the word, mostly wimmin. At the gay pride march, the first thing we saw was this huge american flag and all these military people marching in the parade, I was sickened. and we pretty much split from the parade all together and we went down to the piers and we met a couple of people, wimmin from Harlem and the Bronx and Brooklyn and they were all kinda hanging out it was like the unofficial home girl section of the parade. We didn't have to enlighten these wimmin about the idea they were very open to the idea of Fierce Pussy, the word fierce is very slang and it comes from those areas it was great.

Tatiana: They knew exactly what we were talking about. If we stepped out of that zone we would get a lot of white middle class people pinching up their face saying "Pussy?? Pussy? oh! oh!" and they'd be really upset by the word pussy, it was really funny, you could really tell the class difference, nobody there had to be educated about Fierce Pussy.

POET GRRRL!

These poems were written by members of Riot Grrrl - New York City

Sergio, Was His Name

She was, i was, she was 13, girl of 13, I was 13. He said "obedience is important" I was girl of 13, i was 13, 13 13 13 13 13 13 years old He dominated me. i was 13...she was. He replaced me - - - - - robbed my soul. i only have so much to spare, but he, he, he, he pushes in to me. first with his dry, cold hand. then with his scorching penis. then with his baby. inside me inside me!!! Was it rape?! i said no. i swear i did. i said "please for Godsake, in God's name, for the love of GOD NO! NO! NO!!"

But, he covered my peach tinted lips... he stuffed his forceful tongue into my mouth. i was stiff, in pain. in frozen motion, while he fucked me. i cried salty, plain tears.

—Claudi von Vacano.

it's deep inside me... it started when i ran away from home... it grew after the accident, the accident that left him convulsing, shaking, bleeding death...next to me and it, death, fell onto my lap. i bleed too, hot burning tears. My face is bloody, scarred. The stitches are not skin deep... they tie me up. i'm knarled, tangled by those stitches, those thoughts. the shadows of incest, a fathers love under the poison of alcohol. the reason it started.

—Claudia von Vacano

men and sex and women and fucking i think i've spent no time in coming i think i've spent no time in loving men and sex and women and fucking and women and men and sex and fucking and sex and sex and sex and fucking

fuck and fuck and fuck and come and come and come suck my left one suck my big one suck and come and come and fuck

a national obsession with fucking? a personal obsession with fucking?

harlequin romance novels and silhouette romance novels and, have you ever read any judith krantz? she writes really good trash telling women to be sensual

women to be sexual to be yielding, complying, giving never receiving fucking fucking fucking men

men and sex and women and fucking and women and men and sex and fucking and fuck and fuck and fuck and fucking!

so, what is the single girl to do? read cosmo? vogue magazine? are they going to tell me how to masturbate? how about ejaculate? they probably don't even think what we do that. i think that there is a third sex

Q: Have you done other political work before this?

Karissa: This is your first project darlin'!

Tatiana: I don't have any organizing experience whatsoever! We just jumped into this.

Karissa: There was St. Patrick's Day. We got arrested.

Tatiana: We just went down to check it out, we weren't even with the ILGO people [The Irish Lesbian and Gay Organization has been struggling for the right to march in the St. Patrick's day Parade for several years —PG].

Karissa: There were about 25 people there, after the ILGO people got arrested. We were just a lively crew who didn't really want to get arrested and we were chanting "we love men in skirts" and "we put the gay in gaelic." We were just being really silly and theatrical and we were actually in the crowd with the Irish folks who were giving us funny looks but they weren't really in any way threatened by us, we weren't really threatened by them, it was a kind of coexistence that was happening. And then the police came and surrounded us and arrested us. Disorderly conduct, at a parade. I thought chanting and singing was proper parade behavior! I don't know, maybe they've redefined that.

Q: You talked about the Fierce Pussy Fest as a political act, how do you think of yourselves politically?

Karissa: I don't really align myself, a lot of people would probably lump me as an anarchist because its kind of the none of the above category. But I think personally, this is not Fierce Pussy Fest or anything, just personally, that there are a handful of rich white men in the United States of America that have more power than anybody has ever had in the history of human beings on this planet and they have names, addresses, so I guess you would consider me a revolutionary. There's a very clear target.

Tatiana: Do I think of myself as a revolutionary? Of course I do. A revolution is gonna happen or even is about to happen or is already happening. I'm not one of those people who feels like I want to go out there and control the masses, direct the masses down this particular road or that particular road. I'm gonna be interested to see what happens. I think it'll probably be ugly and scary. I mean its not gonna be like a dream like walking off into the sunset hand in hand forming some new society. I think its inevitable that the hierarchies that we're living under now are going to crumble because they can't maintain the weight of all of their mistakes.

There is no way that it can go on.

Karissa: We're on the edge of a crumble, I can feel it in the air. I wanna say one thing as to the true revolutionary in the analytical sense is supposed to have faith in the masses. I don't necessarily know what that means except that I was in Oakland, California during the earthquake in 1989, and the drug dealers that were on the corner were suddenly directing traffic with flashlights, there were groups of people who went and saved a lot of people on the freeway that collapsed before the state even had a chance to even figure out what had happened. There were rock climbers, residents of the area who were climbing on this shit that was all crumbling down and they saved so many lives until the state came and they cordoned it off and they put in their trucks and their lights and they said this is unstable, no one can come on here and for three days you could hear people screaming and, that's documented, that's not folklore, people died because of the states inability to act and their inability to have the people who were reacting deal with the situation. I just have so much faith in the world now after and experience like that. I just feel like people rise to the occasion in ways that we won't even get to see until the opportunity arises.

Q: How do you feel that the Fierce Pussy Fest plays into your ideas about revolution?

Karissa: I feel its a gradual process and its a mental process and I feel that art is a huge part, creativity is a huge part of that process, and I think that a lot of the problems with, I don't know, movements or surges in the past is that they separated them somehow. Art was something bourgeois. No, its a life thing, not to be such a hippie but its just so necessary so I think art precedes politics. We're telling everybody that's gonna get up on that stage we're not gonna censor you, we're telling everybody that's bringing their stuff down that we're not gonna try to control you in any way shape or form, I think that is revolutionary, the fact that we're just gonna do all the dirty nasty horrible office phone calls letters just this awful stuff I would never take as a job. I would never get paid for this. I would tell them to go to hell, you're oppressing me!

Q: What do you think of riot grrrl, and things like that?

Karissa: We know some of them and actually they're gonna help us with some of the stuff. I read one of riot grrrl's statements the other day and I thought it was excellent, they didn't claim to own the word riot grrrl. Its just a word that applies to a group of people that are working loosely, independently or with friends or in small groups on whatever projects they're working on. Its a support net for wimmin artists. I thought that was a great statement to go from because that's kind of what we're attempting as well, a feeling of freedom and openness, you can interpret it however you want you can go at it whatever way you want, you don't have to call yourself a member of one particular group or another to be valid. ★

the sex of print
the sex of images
the sex of audio visual america that tells us
how to live,
what to do, where to shop and when to fuck

men and sex and women and fucking
the old ins and outs
wham bam thank you ma'am
men
and sex
and society
and industry
have destroyed women
not to mention men

so who do you fuck?
yeah, who do you fuck?

i've decided to fuck myself.
i've decided to play with my own pussy.
play me sara,
play me, she says to me
and i say sure.

—Sara Valentine



REMEMBER POGROMNACHT ("KRISTALLNACHT") NOVEMBER 9, 1938 DAY OF ANTI-FASCISM

"The only way we could have been stopped was if our enemies had smashed us off the street from day one."

Adolf Hitler

"Wherever you find injustice, the proper form of politeness is attack."

T-Bone Slim

November 9 is the anniversary of the night that Nazis attacked Jews in their homes and shops across Germany. It is also the anniversary of the day the Berlin Wall came down. For several years it has been a day of fascist street demonstrations and violent attacks in Germany. More recently it has also become a day for anti-fascist actions in Europe.

November 9 is commonly known as "Kristallnacht," the night of broken glass. Much more was broken that night than glass, and many anti-fascists in Germany, refusing to use Nazi euphemisms, refer to November 9 as Pogromnacht, the night of the pogrom (an organized massacre, especially of Jews).

We are seeing a resurgent fascist movement in North America: from the activities of the Ku Klux Klan and Nazi skinheads to the efforts of Operation Rescue, the right is increasingly willing to take their politics into the street. Over 25 people have been killed by Nazi skinheads in the U.S. in the past several years. As in Europe, these fascist forces are playing on widespread racist and anti-immigrant feelings among white people. They are using "family values" as a club to beat down women and drive Queer sexuality back into the closet.

Last year on November 9 anti-fascist actions took place in several North American cities. We want to see November 9 become a regular day of anti-fascist action on this side of the Atlantic. We are calling for a day of anti-fascist actions this year on November 9 to demonstrate the existence of an anti-fascist movement that is willing to take to the streets and challenge the fascists. We are urging people everywhere to organize anti-fascist demonstrations, large and small, against appropriate targets or simply in the streets where we can be seen and heard.

For further information contact:

Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation
P.O. Box 3606
Oakland, CA 94609-0606

Love and Rage
P.O. Box 853 Stuyvesant Station
New York, NY 10009
(212) 460-8390

Anti-Racist Working Group
P.O. Box 44563
Detroit, MI 48244

LOVE AND RAGE REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHIST FEDERATION

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IST ACTIONS



BY MATT BLACK
THE LOVE AND RAGE NETWORK HAD its fourth conference in San Diego from July 7 to July 11. A number of important decisions were made and projects started. The happening anarchists of 915 E Center hosted the conference, and the wonderful folks at the Germinal/Ché Cafe at University of California at San Diego provided meeting and sleeping space, a great kitchen, and a place to prepare all the donated food, arranged by Food for Thought.

About seventy-five people attended from the US, Canada, and Mexico, with ones and twos from South Africa, England, Ireland, and other far-off places. A number of people at the conference had not come to participate in the Love and Rage decision-making. Although this has caused problems in the past, it seemed to work out fairly well this year, and numerous workshops, caucuses, and trips to the beach were organized by people who were there largely to meet other people and network (small n).

The gender balance of the conference was disappointing. About 1/4 of those in attendance were women. While there were a number of people of color, the conference was largely white, and aside from the discussion of the activities in Mexico, conducted almost exclusively in English. The vast majority of participants were in their 20s. Finally, although a majority of participants came from middle class backgrounds, working class participation was higher than in the past.

FROM NETWORK TO FEDERATION

The Love and Rage Network is now the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation. The change in name reflects some of the major changes that were made at the San Diego conference. The decision to change the name took place on the last day of the conference, so throughout this report I refer to the Network when I am talking about the conference's discussions,

and to the Federation when I am talking about our future plans.

Each day of the conference was divided into a morning session devoted to Love and Rage Network business of some sort, and an afternoon session devoted to workshops and other meetings. The first two morning sessions were very productive.

REPORT FROM MEXICO AND THE FUTURE OF AMOR Y RABIA.

Ana and Gustavo from Mexico gave an exciting report on the situation in Mexico City, where they have built Love and Rage into a militant presence in street demonstrations. The Mexico City group has been publishing a monthly Spanish-language edition of *Love and Rage* (*Amor y Rabia*) since the beginning of the year. It was decided that Love and Rage will now be a 20-page English-language newspaper, and that the Spanish edition will be produced by the production group in Mexico City and distributed in the U.S. instead of publishing a Spanish-section of the paper out of New York. It looks like the NY office will distribute *Amor y Rabia* in the US, Europe, Africa and Asia, although another group or office may take over this task in the future. *Amor y Rabia* is expected to come out monthly, with one issue having coordinated content with the English-language *Love and Rage* (some translations, some original articles but aimed at a continental and international audience), and the next being autonomous, mostly aimed at an audience in Mexico and Latin America.

FOCUS ON ANTI-RACISM/POLICE BRUTALITY AND IMMIGRATION

Most of the second day's morning session was taken up with the discussion of what areas of work Love and Rage should focus on over the next year. A wide range of possible areas were suggested. It was understood that in order for Love and Rage

to meaningfully focus itself we would have to choose between important areas of work. The various proposals were prioritized on the basis of a straw poll. In the end we were able to have full and productive discussions of two areas of work, and these will be our focus areas for the coming year. Each of the two focus areas is the responsibility of a working group.

One area of work is Anti-Racism and Police Brutality. The Anti-Racist working group has several projects going: 1) organizing against a possible Klan march in Chattanooga, TN on September 11

reach them at the Federation Office, PO Box 3606, Oakland, CA 94609-0606.

GATHERING CLOUDS

This was an important and productive conference, although it was also difficult. A number of political questions that had been a source of tension in the previous year were finally resolved in San Diego with the

Sun, Sand, and Social Revolution:

result that some people left the organization.

The last Love and Rage Network conference in Atlanta in November of 1992 had failed to resolve several issues that many in the Network felt needed to be resolved before the Network could become an effective political organization. The two main issues were whether and how to define membership in the Network, and whether and how to develop a statement of the common politics of the Network. Between the Atlanta and San Diego conferences differences on these questions became particularly bitter, especially in the New York-based Production Group, and pretty much everybody agreed that the divisions over these issues were paralyzing the Network and making it ineffective in coordinating any sort of political activity. The debates over these issues took place in the Love and Rage internal discussion bulletin, the Disco Bull. Prior to the San Diego conference, a statement laying out five points, including the need for a definition of membership and a

(see front page, this issue); 2) pro-

ducing a large poster with an anti-racist/anti-police brutality theme; 3) producing some literature, including an info pack (due out October 1st); and more. You can reach the working group care of PO Box 44563, Detroit, MI 48244.

The other area of work is opposition to immigration controls and anti-immigrant violence. The Immigration working group is working on these projects: 1) Organizing for an international action for May 9th, 1994 calling for an end to immigration restrictions, an end to anti-immigrant violence, and the tearing down of borders; 2) Producing a multi-lingual poster to build for that action; 3) compiling and distributing information about immigration, anti-immigrant violence, etc.; 4) produce a pamphlet of 8-12 pages about these issues, due out in early September; and more. You can



statement of common politics, was circulated among people active in the Network and 22 people signed it. In response to this and the unbearable personal tensions felt by everybody, four members of the New York-based Production Group quit both the Production Group and the Network.

CALM BEFORE THE STORM

On Saturday it was decided we would tackle some

The San Diego Love and Rage Conference

of the various and controversial decisions about the structure of the Network and related political issues. Several important decisions were made without much difficulty.

It was decided that the Discussion Bulletin will continue to come out of Minneapolis. We made a strong commitment to finding a new home for the DB within a year. The DB will now come out quarterly, being mailed on March 1st, June 1st, September 1st, and December 1st. Deadlines are 1 month before mailing, so: February 1st, May 1st, August 1st, and November 1st.

It was also decided to open an office in the Bay Area which would take over most (hopefully all) Network (as opposed to newspaper) activities from the office in New York. In the short term, this will include: collecting pledges and redistributing them to projects of the Federation; answering mail; and slowly taking up other Federation projects like: speaking tours, poster projects, mailings, etc. The Federation Office address is: Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation, PO Box 3606, Oakland, CA 94609-0606. Keep looking for updates about what tasks they are taking over.

Matt Black will be producing the Federation Bulletin for the foreseeable future. They will be produced twice monthly, and will be mailed out on the 1st and 3rd Mondays of each month. The Federation Bulletin will only be mailed to Federation members. Also, in the future the Federation Bulletin will be moving to the Bay Area office, maybe by January.

Tommy Lawless made the observation that since many groups focus their activities on one area or another, we should publicize that so that people who want to learn about certain things can write to the people who know about them. People immediately saw the logic of her ideas and approved this clear-headed proposal. Anyone interested in serving as a contact for a particular type of organizing (anti-racist, anarcho-feminism, animal liberation, and so on) should send a note to the New York office so that a list can be published in future future editions of the paper, DB, and FB.

There was much discussion about whether or not to have a paid staff person in the New York office in the future. It was decided to have a paid position for at least the next 6 months, at which time the Federation Council will have to decide whether or not to continue this arrangement. Todd Prane of New York was elected Staff Person. He will be paid \$300 per month.

LOVE AND RAGE DEFINES MEMBERSHIP

All the tensions came to the surface at the conference in the discussion of a proposal to define membership for the Network. Some people were opposed to defining membership at all, preferring to work in an information- and resource-sharing network that would not require that type of political definition. Some people were opposed to defining membership if the definition included "dues" or the requirement of sending money to become a member. Other people supported defining membership as proposed. It became clear that reaching a consensus would be

impossible. But everyone agreed that it would be better to decide the issue somehow then, rather than to put it off. After more discussion, it was suggested by people in "both camps" that people who opposed the membership proposal stand aside during the decision-making. After more discussion, a

call was made for consensus, and the proposal to formally define membership was accepted.

While the formal process of consensus decision-making was used, it would be false to suggest that there was any real consensus. The meeting was roughly split in half (two straw polls went in opposite directions on the question). But since supporters of membership were now responsible for publishing both the Spanish and English newspapers, and the internal Discussion Bulletin (Disco Bull), and had offered to open an office in the Bay Area and to publish the semi-monthly Network Bulletin, opponents of the proposal stood aside, and allowed the proposal to pass.

The differences expressed in San Diego have to do with more than simply the idea of membership. As in the anarchist movement as a whole, within the Love and Rage Network there have been and are different conceptions of the best ways to work towards revolution. The question of membership was tightly wrapped up with the question of having a statement of common politics. Supporters of membership felt that an explicit agreement of what our common politics were was necessary if we were to effectively make decisions about undertaking common projects as a Network. In order to democratically develop a statement of those politics, it was argued, it would be necessary to define who was and was not part of the Network.

Some people who were opposed to membership saw the main purpose of the Network as networking and information-sharing. Since they were less interested in the idea of coordinated national or international action, they saw no need for a defined set of politics or for membership. Others opposed the move because they thought that it represented an increase in the centralization of the Network, and they were organizationally opposed to this. One of the frequently-made comments of this sort was that this move represented an attempt to organize the anarchist movement from the top-down.

Some differences can be worked around—people with different ideas on some things can work together on others—but some differences are impossible to

contain within one group.

It's difficult to deal with a significant political difference within an organization. There is almost no history

for it in the current anarchist movement. Quite the opposite, usually serious differences are either ignored or become the basis of insults rather than criticisms. While the process in San Diego left much to be desired, the meeting did not degenerate in this way, to the credit of everyone involved.

The conference approved the following definition of membership: Members 1) Generally agree with the stated politics of the Federation (based on the existing, "suspended" Political Statement; and 2) Identify themselves as members; and 3) send in \$25 per year to cover the costs of subscriptions to Love and Rage, the Disco Bull, the Network Bull, and other mailings. The \$25 fee may be waived on request to the Federation Office. Members of Supporting Groups are automatically members if they want to be, and don't need to send in an additional \$25. But, members of Supporting Groups have to identify themselves individually as members to be counted as members. Only people who write to the Federation Office (PO Box 3606, Oakland, CA 94609-0606) and identify themselves as members are members. Of course, only members are eligible to participate in future decision-making, though everyone, as always, is welcome and strongly encouraged to participate in the discussion.

After the gruelling discussion of membership we broke for the day, many of us heading immediately to the beach.

THE FEDERATION IS BORN

On Sunday morning the final business session of the conference was held. In contrast to the previous day, decisions were made quickly and without much rancor. First the name of the organization was changed from the Love and Rage Network to the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation, in part out of respect to people opposed to defining membership, who argued that a "network" was a less-structured, non-membership grouping, and thus an inappropriate name for the new structure Love and Rage.

The decision-making structure of the Federation has been a source of discontent for a long time, and it was changed significantly in San Diego. It was decided to junk the Coordinating Group in favor of putting effort into making the Federation Council

(formerly the Network Council) work once and for all. At the same time, due to the fact that a lot of people in the Federation weren't present, it was decided to adopt an interim structure for the FC until the FC meets in January 1994, where a better structure can be hammered out. The Federation Council is (temporarily) composed of:

Up to two delegates from each Supporting Group;
Two delegates from the New York Production Group;

Two delegates from Mexico Production Group;

One delegate from the Disco Bull;
One delegate from the Federation Office;
One delegate from the Anti-Racist working group;

One delegate from the Anti-Immigrant working group;

The Federation Council meeting will be over Martin Luther King, Jr. weekend in January 1994, location to be announced.

The financial situation (always grim) was discussed and several points were emphasized. 1) Please pledge if you possibly can. As always, our expenses are greater than our income, recently by about \$400 each month; 2) We will send out letters to people who don't pay for the papers we send, letting them know that we are going to stop sending papers if we don't hear from them; 3) We initiated a \$10,000 fund-drive to raise money to send a computer system to Amor y Rabia México, and to upgrade the computer in the NY office. \$2,000 has already been committed and we hope to raise the rest within the next six months.

It was decided that any immediate action on the Political Statement should be put off until the Federation Council meeting in January. There just weren't enough people in San Diego to move forward on this. The conference in San Diego decided that we would attempt to have a final document by the next conference (presumably next summer). It was decided to continue the discussion of the content of the new Political Statement in the Disco Bull until the Federation Council meeting, at which point a formal process for developing the document would be decided on.

A lot of things were not decided, and many of these decisions are temporary until membership is clearer and the Federation can meet to make more permanent decisions.

The conference was difficult—it isn't easy deciding that you have serious political differences with people you know, like, and respect. All of those things stay the same.

Even in light of all that, I am very pleased personally with the outcome of San Diego. I feel that now that we can identify the membership, we can come to lasting agreements about what we have in common and how to best work together. This seems to me to be the first step towards moving away from too much talk about internal issues and moving towards more organizing.

GOVERNMENTS DON'T FALL BY THEMSELVES. THEY NEED YOUR HELP. JOIN THE FEDERATION.

☐ I am in general agreement with the stated politics of the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation and support the projects of the Federation. I would like to become a member. Enclosed is my \$25 annual communications fee (The fee may be waived on written request). I understand that I will receive the newspaper, the *Federation Bulletin* (twice a month) and the internal *Discussion Bulletin* (4 times a year)

☐ I would like further information about the politics of the Federation. I have enclosed \$5 for the Love and Rage Political Statement Working Papers.

Address _____

City _____

State/Province _____

Zip/Postal Code _____

Phone () _____

Send check or money order to:

Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation
P.O. Box 3606
Oakland, CA 94609-0606

Update On Ohio Prison Revolt

WE REPORTED ON THE uprising at the Southern Ohio Correctional Facility (SOCF), located in Lucasville, Ohio, in our last issue. Since then considerably more material has come out of the prison. The May/June issue of Prison News Service contains extensive accounts from seven different prisoners dispelling many of the lies put out through the capitalist press. It would be impossible to summarize all of these accounts, so we strongly urge readers who do not already receive Prison News Service to obtain this issue. One item that we did not have access to at press time for the last issue of Love and Rage was the demands of the Lucasville prisoners. The demands of the uprising were:

1. Follow all administrative rules and regulations.
2. Administrative discipline and criminal proceedings will be fairly and impartially administered without bias against any specific individuals or groups.
3. All injured parties will receive prompt medical care and follow-up.
4. The surrender will be witnessed by religious leaders and news media.
5. Unit Management system will be reviewed with attempts to improve in areas requiring change.
6. SOCF will contact the Federal Court to review the White v. Morris consent decree that requires integrated celling.
7. All close security prisoners have already been transferred from K side and L side. Close security inmates will be immediately evaluated for transfer.
8. Procedures will be implemented to thoroughly review prisoners' files pertaining to early release matters and changes will be made where warranted.
9. Six-hundred inmates transferred to relieve overcrowding.
10. Current policies regarding inappropriate supervision will be rigidly enforced.
11. Medical staffing levels will be reviewed to ensure compliance with ACA standards for medical care.
12. Attempts will be made to expedite and improve work and program opportunities.
13. The DRC will work to evaluate and improve work and programmatic opportunities.
14. There will be no retaliatory actions taken against any prisoner or group of prisoners or their property.
15. A complete review of all correctional facility mail and visit policies will be undertaken.
16. Transfers from the correctional facility are coordinated through the Bureau of Classification. Efforts will be increased to ensure prompt transfers of those prisoners who meet eligibility requirements.
17. Efforts will be undertaken to upgrade channels of communication between employees and prisoners involving quality of life issues.
18. The complete commissary pricing system will be reviewed.
19. The DRC will consult the Department of Health regarding any future TB testing.
20. The FBI will monitor processing and ensure that civil rights will be upheld.
21. The DRC will consider case by case the interstate transfer of any prisoner if the DRC feels that there is a reasonable basis to believe that they would be unable to provide a secure environment for that prisoner. Any prisoner denied transfer will be reviewed by the Federal Bureau of Prisons.★

LARRY GIDDINGS TRANSFERRED

LARRY GIDDINGS, AN ANTI-authoritarian arrested October 14, 1979 for his involvement in an attempt to liberate another freedom fighter from a Seattle jail, has been transferred from Leavenworth, Kansas to Lewisburg, Pennsylvania. Lewisburg is another maximum security institution, where Puerto Rican POWs Edwin Cortés, Ricardo Jiménez, and Alberto Rodríguez are also imprisoned. Larry's new address is:

Larry Giddings
No. 10917-086
P.O. Box 1000
Lewisburg, PA 17837

Developments in Bill Dunne's Case

BILL DUNNE, A POW ARRESTED in 1979 with Larry Giddings after the failed rescue attempt of a comrade in prison, is currently appealing a suit he has filed against the prison system for cheating on his prison sentences.

Bill, who is facing 90 years for the '79 action (state and federal charges) and another 15 for his escape in 1983 (federal charges), is fighting for freedom on the grounds that by applicable law, jurisdiction over him has been surrendered and his sentence legally completed. This stems from a change in his status as a state prisoner to a federal prisoner in '82, then back to a state prisoner in '85, then back to a federal prisoner in '91.

According to legal precedent, these actions both violated his right to serve a continual sentence (in other words not being forced to switch between two sentences). By surrendering him back to the state prisoner status in '85, the federal authorities gave up jurisdiction over him, satisfying the federal conviction, and giving him an implied pardon. As it stands however, the authorities are trying to add an effective six years of prison time onto his sentence, claiming a clerical error. We will be following his appeal in the 7th Circuit Court of Appeals. If Dunne wins, this would also make it likely that Larry Giddings could present a similar case for his release.

Bill Dunne
No. 10916-086
P.O. Box 33
Terre Haute, IN 47808

Harold Thompson In Need of Support

HAROLD THOMPSON, an anti-authoritarian prisoner in Tennessee, is being severely harassed by prison authorities. As a result of his legal work on behalf of other prisoners at the Lompoc County Regional Correctional Facility in Tiptonville, TN, his cell was searched in February, several of his legal books were destroyed, and his papers were confiscated.

He filed a civil rights suit against Lompoc's assistant warden for the February search and confiscation of his legal materials. As a result of the suit, he has been transferred to the Western Tennessee High Security Facility in Henning, TN.

In addition to all of this, he has had run-ins with the Aryan Brotherhood in Henning because he does legal work for Black prisoners. To help please contact:
Brooklyn ABC c/o NY-AYF
PO Box 365 Canal St. Station
NY, NY 10013



Support the Trenton 7

On Wednesday, June 23, the New Jersey Defense Committee held a demonstration in support of the Trenton 7, seven Black prisoners charged in the 1990 ambush of guards at New Jersey's notorious Trenton State Prison. They were charged with 18-count indictments of attempted murder, aggravated assault, and weapons possession. The charges were piled up, but ultimately the Trenton 7 were convicted on only a handful of the counts.

On Friday, July 30, even though they had been acquitted on the most serious charges, the five who were convicted on any charges were sentenced to between 10 and 30 more years in prison. The five are appealing these outrageous sentences.

Murray (He Justice Allah) Whitfield, 27, of Long Branch, was found guilty of assaulting Capt. James Johnston and possession of a weapon, but was acquitted of 16 other counts, including three counts of attempted murder. He was sentenced to 20 more years in prison.

Eugene (Hassan) Jones, 33, of Englewood, was found not guilty of all 18 counts.

Eugene (Kisu Balagoon) Belton, 35, of Paterson, was convicted on four counts of assaulting guards and one weapon-possession count, but acquitted on the remaining 13 attempted murder and assault charges. Balagoon was sentenced to 21 1/2 more years in prison.

Ogbanna Khalfani, 32, of Newark, was convicted on one count of aggravated assault, but acquitted on the other 17 counts. He was sentenced to an additional 10 years in prison.

Keith (Ajani) Bowman, 28, of

Newark, was acquitted on all 17 counts.

Massai Khaban, 49, of Camden, was convicted of aggravated assault and acquitted on 17 related counts. He was sentenced to an additional 10 years in prison.

Gerald Nance, 38, of Passaic, was convicted on two counts of aggravated assault, one count of assault, and one weapon possession charge. He was acquitted of the 14 remaining counts, including all three for attempted murder. He was sentenced to an additional 30 years in prison.

While the acquittal on all the attempted murder charges was a victory for the Trenton 7, the heavy sentences reflect the determination of the state to terrorize prisoners who stand up to the inhuman treatment they receive.

The demonstration by the New Jersey Defense Committee was part of an effort to maintain a visible presence during the 10 week trial of the Trenton 7. The New Jersey Defense Committee is a coalition made up of the Black Cat Collective, the Paterson Anarchist Collective, Nightcrawler Anarchist Black Cross, and the Black Panther Newspaper Committee.★

RIK SCARCE, GRAND JURY RESISTER, NEEDS SUPPORT

Last month we reported that Rik Scarce, the author of "Eco-Warriors" had been jailed for refusing to answer questions in front of a Grand Jury about interviews he did with environmental and Animal Liberation Front activists for his book. He deserves your support for his courageous stand. Write him at:

James R. Scarce
Spokane County Jail
W. 1100 Mallon
Spokane, WA 99260

Anarchist Black Cross and Other Prisoner Support Groups

ABC Baltimore
P.O. Box 19245
Baltimore, MD 21213

ABC Chicago
c/o WCF
P.O. Box 81961
Chicago, IL 60681

Nightcrawler ABC
PO Box 20181 Tompkins Sq. Station
NY, NY 10009

ABC Minneapolis
P.O. Box 581354
Minneapolis, MN 55458-1354

New Jersey ABC
P.O. Box 8532
Haledon, NJ 0708-8532

ABC Portland
c/o Rosebud Commons
1951 W. Burnside
Box 1928
Portland, OR 97209

ABC Wisconsin
P.O. Box 173
Madison, WI 53701-0173

Prison News Service
P.O. Box 5052, Stn. A
Toronto, ONT M5W 1W4

AS ANYONE WHO FOLLOWS THE news knows, world communism is in crisis. The Communist regimes in Eastern Europe have been overthrown by popular movements and replaced by governments at least formally committed to creating traditional capitalism. The regime in what used to be the Soviet Union has been toppled and the Soviet Union itself has fragmented into national republics,

whose current governments are also dedicated, at least in words, to creating traditional capitalist economies. The Sandinista government in Nicaragua and the Mengistu juggernaut in Ethiopia are gone, and it seems likely that Castro's government will not long survive in its present form. Even the Communist regimes that appear stable, such as those in China, North Korea and North Vietnam, are only viable to the degree that they loosen up central economic planning, open their economies to foreign trade and investment and allow "free market" forces to operate.

These events have created a profound crisis of Communist ideology, "Marxism-Leninism." Not surprisingly, the greatest demonstration of the viability of communism as an ideology was the very existence of Communist regimes: "Nothing succeeds like success" applies as much to communism as capitalism. One didn't need to know much about Marx and Lenin to know that communism was a potent threat to the "Free World." This was especially telling to a worldview that touted itself as materialist. With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Communist systems in Eastern Europe and elsewhere, Communist ideology no longer seems to have the validity it once did.

Beyond this, the very way these societies collapsed has battered Communist ideology. Whatever else became clear during the past few years, it was obvious to even the willfully duped that most of the people who lived in Communist societies hated them. The mass movements that removed Communist governments were clearly not tiny minorities sponsored by the CIA. (So much for these governments being "dictatorships of the proletariat," "workers' states," "people's democracies," or "democracies of a new type.") It was also edifying to hear official sources confirm the atrocities committed by these regimes against their own peoples and to actually see the results of some of them on TV. Not long after the overthrow of the Ceausescu dictatorship in Rumania in December 1989, one longtime supporter of the "socialist countries" (including Rumania), denounced Ceausescu as a "fascist."

Of course, the more astute (and/or more cynical) supporters of the Soviet camp knew in their hearts that these societies were not really democratic, even that the people living in them didn't like them very much. But this was explained away as a relatively minor debit that was more than outweighed by the fact that these regimes promoted economic growth, guaranteed full employment and free medical care, and sponsored admirable cultural institutions and winning Olympic teams. But as former Soviet premier Mikhail Gorbachev admitted, nationalized property and central planning had not led to sustained economic growth, but to stagnation, vast environmental destruction and catastrophic crisis. It no longer mattered whether unemployment had been eliminated (it hadn't), or that medical care was free (although there wasn't enough alcohol to sterilize needles or power to run the equipment); these achievements were not sustainable. Whereas Nikita Khrushchev had declared, "We will bury you," the Soviet economy had buried itself under the weight of its bureaucracy, inefficiencies and injustices.

All of this has meant that Communist ideology, and Marxism more broadly, no longer looks as valid as it used to. Although one can argue that Communist ideology should not be equated with Marxism, i.e., that Marxism-Leninism is a parody of true Marxism, that the Communist regimes were not what Karl Marx

had in mind, etc., in fact, the two have become closely identified. (This is in part because the Marxist left so adamantly embraced the Communist societies and denied, downplayed or justified the atrocities committed there.) As a result, Marxism itself is in a crisis, and it's no accident that the socialist and Communist left, in the US and around the world, is in retreat.

THE PERIOD OF MARXIST DOMINANCE ON THE LEFT

The current crisis of communism/Marxism offers a significant opportunity for anarchism/anti-authoritarianism. Anarchism has been eclipsed by Marxism in its various guises for over 70 years. Except for Spain, where a mass anarchist movement existed into the 1930s, and a couple of other countries, the dominant forces of

ing these events that Marxism, socialism and Communism became the dominant influence in the working class movement and the left generally, in the US and around the world.

To a degree, the dominance of Communism/Marxism stemmed from anarchism's own weaknesses, from the statist tendencies within capitalism, and from the active repression of libertarian movements by Communist regimes and their agents. Communist hegemony was primarily a

HIT 'EM WHILE THEY'RE DOWN! AN ANARCHIST CRITIQUE OF MARXISM PART ONE: THE CRISIS OF COMMUNISM AND THE OPPORTUNITY FOR ANARCHISM by Ron Taber

the left have been, since the Russian Revolution of 1917, Marxist or Marxist-derived.

It was not always this way. At the birth of the modern working class movement and socialist thought, various forms of anarchism/anti-authoritarianism vied with Marxism for influence. One of Marx's earliest works, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, is a polemic against Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, an early exponent of anti-authoritarian thought whose influence was, for many years, far greater than Marx's. It's also worth recalling that Marx and Engels arranged the transfer of the headquarters of the International Workingmen's Association (the First International), to New York (and the organization's collapse), rather than allow it to fall into the hands of the followers of Mikhail Bakunin. And anti-authoritarian ideas had more influence among members of the Paris Commune than did those of Marx and Engels. In the United States, anarchist (or "anarcho") militants and tendencies were as influential in the working class movements around the turn of the century as were Marxist and socialist ones, and they were far more radical.

It was not until the Russian revolution, the establishment of the Communist International and the two decades follow-

result of the fact that the very existence of Communist regimes made Marxism look real—viable and powerful, a significant historical force—in contrast to the marginal role of anarchism.

MARXISM, THE NEW LEFT, AND BLACK LIBERATION

A look at the 1960s, the period of the most recent mass radicalization in the United States, is instructive in this regard. Then, anarchism had an opportunity to develop a significant base in the radical movement, but failed to do so. At that time, the political field was relatively open. Significant sections of young people were becoming disillusioned with the Democratic Party, the Communist Party was small and discredited, and other socialist organizations were tiny and without influence.

Moreover, there was a definite potential for anarchist ideas to take hold among young radicals. Although the New Left (in particular, Students for a Democratic Society), was launched by people from social-democratic backgrounds, its ideas and penchants had a great deal in common with anarchism, particularly once the radicalization gained momentum. The movement stressed direct decision making, local control and opposition to centralized hierarchical structures and political discipline (the "party line"). It supported direct action as opposed to traditional ("electoral") politics. It believed in opposing liberalism

and liberal politicians, as opposed to seeing them as its allies. It was hostile to the labor bureaucracy and its allies and didn't think much of the radical potential of the unions altogether. It identified capitalism and imperialism, rather than seeing the latter as a particular foreign policy. It opposed communism not merely for being oppressive and dictatorial but because it was insufficiently radical. The New Left advocated cultural freedom and was committed to declaring its beliefs openly and aggressively, rather than trimming them to conform to contemporary (pro-capitalist) discourse, that is, softening them to increase their acceptability. It was non-ideological (but not anti-theoretical; it was developing its own theory) and certainly not totalitarian, at least not at its inception.

However, by the end of the '60s, the most radical elements of the New Left—organizations, tendencies and people—were ardent supporters of Communist regimes (Cuba, China, Vietnam and the Soviet Union, in roughly that order), and self proclaimed adherents of some form of Marxism. A major factor in this transition was the existence of the Communist regimes, the fact that they were targets/victims of the imperialist aggression of the United States and were waging a heroic resistance to it. As the anti-war struggle progressed and the US ruling class showed no signs of withdrawing from Vietnam, the most radical students and other middle-class people who made up the bulk of the white radical movement became painfully aware of their relative social isolation and the limitations of their power. It was only natural that they would identify with the Communist-led liberation movements and the "socialist countries" that sponsored them, and seek to emulate them.

A comparable process was at work within the Black liberation movement, where the most radical forces, frustrated by the meagerness of the gains of the civil rights movement and the collaborationist policies of the leadership, soon embraced forms of "revolutionary nationalism" and Marxism, and declared their solidarity with Cuba, Vietnam and China (and by extension the Soviet Union). Eventually, the vast majority of the revolutionary-minded people (Black, Brown, and white), in the movement, even those who remained outraged liberals at heart, considered themselves Marxists/Communists.

(There were certainly other factors behind this development, such as the lack of a sizable and serious anarchist alternative, but these were far less significant than the existence and role of the Communist societies.)

A PYRRHIC VICTORY FOR CAPITALISM

It is for this reason that the current crisis of Communism/Marxism offers what I believe to be a historic opportunity for anarchism—the chance to reemerge as a significant force, theoretically and practically, on the left in the US and internationally. As the current recession in the US suggests, the victory of capitalism over Communism will turn out to be a pyrrhic one, temporary and ultimately hollow. The World economy is entering into a crisis which will last quite a while and may well be very deep. Mass movements against its effects are already developing and with them will come a

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resurgence of the left. With Communism greatly weakened, the political field will be far more open than it's been in decades. In this situation, anarchist ideas and organizations will grow and

hopefully be able to vie for influence in and leadership of the international radical upsurge that is now beginning to develop.

Unfortunately, the crisis of Communism isn't permanent. Marxism is not dead, and

Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union that will look so bad; so will the United States and the entire capitalist system.

A MARXIST REVIVAL

With renewed capitalist crisis, Marxism will revive, showing itself to be quite resilient. (I am not predicting the return to power of the old Communist regimes, but the re-emergence of Marxist organizations and ideology as significant features on the

ness, Marxism has many features that make it extremely attractive to people angry at the injustices of capitalism and anxious to make the world a better place. It offers a systematic analysis of capitalism that has never been approached, let alone equaled, in its cogency, breadth and depth. It offers a moral indictment of the system, a vision of a just society and a strategy and set of tactics to get there. It offers a conception of history and human nature, and apparent answers to all the fundamental



answers aren't answers (or that some of these questions don't even have answers). Among other things, it is its claim to solve all these problems, to answer all the questions, to tie everything in a nice neat bundle, that makes Marxism so attractive, and so dangerous.

As a result the current "window of opportunity" available to anarchism is limited. I believe that in the new radicalization that is now beginning, Marxism and the Marxist left will re-emerge as significant forces, both in the realm of radical theory and in concrete political influence. If anarchism is to become a significant factor in the new movement, it will have to keep this in mind and take steps to deal with it.

A TOTALITARIAN DOCTRINE

There is considerable irony in the fact that I should be warning the anarchist movement to watch out for a renaissance of Marxism. For 25 years I considered myself a Marxist, and once the upsurge of the 1960s was over, looked for a new radicalization to create a workers' movement led by a Marxist organization and based on a Marxist program. Along with co-thinkers, primarily in the Revolutionary Socialist League, I helped elaborate a variety of Marxism that attempted to remain loyal to the classless stateless Marxian ideal, while rejecting, as un-Marxist as well as

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"Former communist parties are reorganizing, admitting to past "mistakes" and adopting more democratic-sounding programs and names. After a period of crisis and decline, they will start to grow."

as political turmoil and mass struggles increase, it will experience a revival of its fortunes, most likely in a new guise. In fact, this is already beginning to happen. In Eastern Europe and the former Soviet

Union, the economic crisis and political uncertainty that have followed the collapse of the Communist regimes have already eroded the popular

global political landscape.) It doesn't matter that it's been proven that Marxism doesn't work, that it doesn't lead to classless and stateless societies, but brutal regimes and unspeakable crimes. Already, former Communist parties are reorganizing, admitting to past "mistakes" and adopting more democratic-sounding ("democratic socialist"), programs and names. After a period of crisis and decline, they will start to grow.

Beyond its moral elusive-

questions that have consumed the minds of humans probably since the beginnings of humanity itself.

It doesn't matter that very little of what Marxism offers is the real thing, that its

support of the new governments. As economic conditions deteriorate, the promises of capitalism will come to look more like lies, and the old regimes, which at least maintained order, will start to look better than they did before their overthrow.

Moreover, the proponents of those societies, the old ruling classes and parties, have not left the scene. In some countries, they've shed their old labels, admitted a few "mistakes," formed "new" organizations with "new" programs that affirm their commitment to democracy and human rights, and become the parliamentary opposition. In others, such as Rumania and Bulgaria, the old ruling classes, slightly reorganized and disguised, still have great power and are going along with or pretending to implement pluralist capitalist programs. In each case, they are waiting for a large enough political base to emerge to enable them, via coups or elections, to regain as much power as circumstances allow.

In Russia and the other countries of the former Soviet Union, the Communists are forming alliances with right-wing nationalist/authoritarian forces, hoping to undermine the governments and build a mass base for a return to authoritarian rule, the exact nature of which will depend on the balance of forces within these uneasy coalitions. In fact, now that the old Communist parties/elites no longer openly rule, the Communists will be able to turn their losses into advantages, shifting responsibility for economic and social conditions onto their successors and blaming them on capitalism. In short, as conditions in these countries deteriorate, the Communist program and forces will start to look a lot more viable than they do now.

A comparable process is at work on a global scale. The crisis of Communism is merely one facet and an early sign of a deepening crisis of world capitalism. Just a couple of years ago, it looked like the United

States was the king of the heap, global hegemon: the Cold War was over, the Communist Menace crushed; George Bush talked about a New World Order. But now it's obvious the US economy is in dire shape: the current recession is no ordinary "downturn" and an increasing number of capitalist economists are admitting that the country is suffering from a profound structural crisis, whose roots date back to 1970 if not to the immediate post-World War II period. And nobody knows what to do about it. Europe and Japan have also been hit by recessions and the entire global economy seems poised to enter a slow-down, if not something worse. In this context it is not just the new governments in



immoral, the Communist regimes and the ideologies they promoted. To us, these regimes

were the opposite of Communism (in fact, forms of state capitalism), which it was the duty of true Marxists to expose and oppose. Believing that US and world capitalism were heading for a profound economic crisis, based on stagnating productive investment and an explosion of debt, we predicted a revival of the working class and radical movements and hoped to build a revolutionary Marxist party to fight for what we considered to be the true Marxist program.

During this process, however, I came to recognize that Marxism is totalitarian. Although there may be Marxists who are committed to creating free societies, the overwhelming majority are not. Even if they were, the logic of Marxism virtually guarantees that when Marxists come to power the societies they establish will be totalitarian. It is no accident that 95% (99%) of all Marxists supported the Communist regimes, and denied, explained away or justified the crimes committed by them. I believe that 95% (99%) of the Marxists in the future will think the same way. Marxism, in my view, is a totalitarian doctrine, and every attempt to implement the Marxian program will lead to the estab-

lishment of totalitarian societies.

BEYOND SIMPLE DENUNCIATIONS

If anarchism is to be able to vie with Marxism in the future, it needs a systematic critique of Marxism. It needs to be able to explain why Marxism is totalitarian, and why a new, cleansed Marxism will have no better results than the previous version. Anarchists have produced critiques of Marxism, but those I am familiar with do not get to the root of the matter. Too often, they limit themselves to describing or denouncing the actions of Marxists/Communists without explaining why they behave the way they do, beyond merely asserting that Marxists are authoritarian, believe in the state, etc. Or, they focus on certain aspects of Marxism, such as Marx's belief in the central role and revolutionary potential of the working class, as the chief source of Marxism's authoritarianism. Today, some anarchists seem to think it enough simply to denounce Marxism as authoritarian, while others, surprisingly, are sympathetic to it, believing that Marxism has a lot to offer to anarchists; Bolshevism, Marxism-Leninism, is the bad stuff.

I believe more is needed, and I propose to begin addressing the question in a series of articles, which I hope will be published in *Love and Rage*. I don't contend my critique will be complete. That's impossible; Marxism entails a lot more material than can be encompassed in a series of articles in a newspaper, or even a book. Moreover, an effective critique must be an ongoing

process. What I will attempt here is to discuss certain aspects of Marxism and show why the logic of its ideas points to the establishment of totalitarian societies, why Marxists, once in power, will almost inevitably implement programs that sabotage their own claims (and intentions) to create democratic, classless and stateless societies.

My treatment will inevitably omit some questions, even crucial ones. I also expect I'll be guilty of simplifying and, to a degree,

distorting Marxist ideas, and that my own analysis will be open to criticism. Undoubtedly, supporters of Marxism will find many holes which they'll contend, weaken if not destroy my argument. However, if my presentation serves to educate anti-authoritarians in the major ideas of Marxism, and at least to suggest the reasons why Marxism has led to the establishment of totalitarian societies rather than the classless and stateless communism predicted, that will be enough.

A Look At Leninism

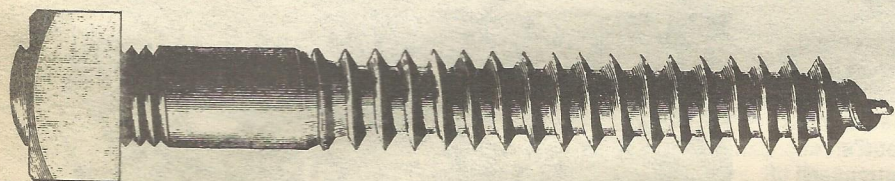
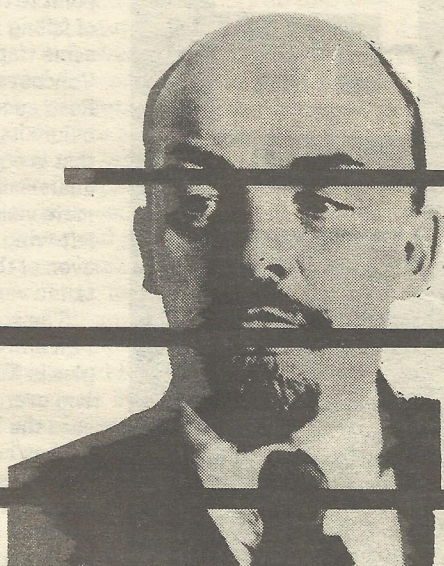
by Ron Taber

Taber's critique of Leninism is a valuable weapon in the hand of all revolutionary anti-authoritarians. Written as a series of articles, *A Look At Leninism* introduces the reader to the key concepts of Leninism and then demolishes the claims of Leninism as an ideology of liberation.

A Look At Leninism was the declaration of Taber's complete break with Leninism, and set the stage for his current series of articles critiquing Marxism.

A Look At Leninism is available for \$3.50 from:

Love and Rage
P.O. Box 3 Prince St. Station
New York, NY 10012



Ex-Yugoslavia

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Communist guerrillas known as the Partisans resisted the Nazi collaborationist forces with the aid of Britain and the USSR. The Partisans emerged victorious in 1944, and their leader Josip Tito was installed in power. Tito rebuilt and industrialized Yugoslavia under a communist dictatorship, but, unlike other Eastern European regimes, steered a course independent of Moscow. He was also adept at balancing the rivalries between the six constituent republics. While the Tito regime did indeed keep a tight lid on any expression of nationalism, the destruction of the Yugoslav system following his death in 1980 had to do with other factors than the mere lifting of that lid.

The first of these was Yugoslavia's economic decline. In the effort to turn a peasant economy into a major industrial and military power, the communist regime racked up a \$20 billion debt to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other foreign sources—a figure comparable to the debts of many Third World nations. In the 1980s, the IMF called in its chips, and payment plans imposed harsh austerity on Yugoslavia's workers. Wealthier Slovenia and Croatia, industrialized with German investment, started to resent their undue contribution to the federal budget.

But it was Serbian Communist Party higher-up and banking official Slobodan Milosevic who first openly violated the Titoist taboo on expressing nationalist sentiment. He launched a campaign which brilliantly exploited both legitimate class resentment against bureaucratic elites and Serbian racism against the Albanian minority in Kosova, linking populism and Serbian nationalism. This campaign propelled him into the Serbian presidency in 1987. The Yugoslav National Army, with a largely Serbian officer corps, closed ranks with Milosevic.

In 1990, as a new deal with the IMF imposed economic "shock therapy," freezing wages and dramatically cutting back services, elections were held in each of the republics. Opportunistic leaders followed Milosevic's lead, exploiting popular anger and cynically playing the obvious card of nationalism in their bids for state power. Franjo Tudjman, ex-Communist general and open nationalist, was elected in

Croatia, and used his control of the press to create nationalist frenzy, much as his ostensible enemy Milosevic was doing in Serbia. State propaganda scapegoated ethnic minorities—Serbs in Croatia, Albanians in Serbia—and posed national purity as the new solution.

In December 1990, Slovenia voted to secede from Yugoslavia in a national plebiscite. Croatia followed suit a few months later. But it was Great Power meddling which propelled the situation towards war. US defense contractors like Lockheed had long been selling arms to the Yugoslav communist state, and the Bush administration had even used Yugoslav banks and arms trading companies to launder CIA weapons smuggling in the Middle East. In June 1991, the US sent Secretary of State James Baker to Belgrade, the Serbian and Yugoslavian capital. Baker warned Milosevic of the "dangers of disintegration" and urged that Yugoslavia maintain "territorial integrity." Milosevic took this as a "green light" to use force to halt Slovene and Croat secession. Simultaneously, Germany, with substantial investments in Slovenia and Croatia, was urging the European Community to recognize their independence—which was

taken by the breakaway republics as a "green light" to secede.

One week later, Slovenia and Croatia declared independence and Milosevic sent in tanks and troops. The war was on.

Milosevic accepted Slovene independence after ten days of fighting. But in Croatia, with a large Serbian minority, war raged until the end of 1991, leaving cities in ruins and the country independent but divided by large areas of Serb military occupation. Things were more complicated and bloody still in Bosnia, where the Muslim plurality was faced with both large Serbian and Croatian minorities. While initially reluctant to secede, Bosnia voted to do so when faced with the alternative of remaining in an openly Serb-dominated Yugoslavia after the departure of Slovenia and Croatia. Bosnia's Muslim president Alija Izetbegovic built a multi-ethnic coalition government before seceding in February 1992. But Serb nationalists under Radovan Karadzic revolted and, with massive support from Milosevic, eventually seized 70% of Bosnian territory, establishing ad hoc concentration camps in abandoned factories and forcibly expelling Muslims from their villages in their brutal campaign of "ethnic cleansing." Bosnia's Croats initially sided with the Muslims against the Serbs, but when the United Nations started to accept that Bosnia would be permanently divided, Croats and Serbs closed ranks to expel Muslims from their remaining areas. Many Bosnian Muslims now suspect a Tudjman-Milosevic plot to divide Bosnia between Serbia and Croatia.

Yugoslavia now consists only of Serbia and tiny Montenegro. As war continues to rage in Bosnia, many anticipate that newly independent Macedonia may be next to explode. Nationalist elements in Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece all maintain claims to Macedonia, and Macedonia also has a large Albanian population. The Albanians in Kosova continue to suffer persecution and repression under Serbian domination. In Turkey, nationalist elements are pushing for intervention on behalf of Balkan Muslim groups such as the Bosnians and Albanians, while Russian nationalists are calling for intervention on behalf of the Serbs. Although this context is consistently ignored by the mass media, these rival imperial interests could propel the Balkan crisis into a wider war—possibly on a global scale.

Yet, peace activists, Greens and anarchists are also active each of the former Yugoslav republics, and are attempting to resist the consolidation of racism, nationalism and militarism. Their voices are also consistently overlooked by the mass media, and it is up to us, their counterparts and natural allies in the West, to lend them solidarity.*

Adapted from WAR AT THE CROSSROADS: AN HISTORICAL GUIDE THROUGH THE BALKAN LABYRINTH by Bill Weinberg & Dorie Wilsnack, available for \$1.00 per copy from the Balkan War Resource Group, War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette St., NY NY 10012, (212) 228-0450.

* For a list of ex-Yugoslavian anti-war groups send 50 cents to the above for *War and Peace in the Balkans*.

from On Gogol Boulevard News Service

Cuba and Africans

(Continued from page 7)

mities of the Castro regime, rarely has the link between color and class struggle in Cuba been explained so lucidly. Taking my lead from James, in my own 1976 work, *No Condescending Saviors*, I wrote:

The point is that, for Cuba, the scarcity of blacks in leading positions cannot be ascribed to a "cultural lag" to be overcome through education, etc. The Afro-Cubans were, prior to the Revolution, the most proletarianized sector of the population, the sector most familiar with the technology and organizational principles of modern industry, the sector most "disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of capitalist production itself." To the degree to which they are denied predominance in Cuban society—to that degree is the proletariat kept out of power.

Castro, the Blacks, and Africa is such a rich mine of information that it is impossible here to list all the finds. There is dirt on every world leader of the period, including Nkrumah (Ghana), Sekou Toure (Guinea), Nasser (Egypt), and various

"freedom fighters," all of whom sought to use the struggle of the peoples of Africa to advance their own factional interests. The figure who comes off best is Malcolm X, who, while hoping to get help from Cuba, was always cautious in his attitude toward Castro. According to Moore, at the time of his death Malcolm was trying to recruit an international black force to fight against the Belgian puppet Tshombe in the Congo. Che Guevara led a military force there, in an early testing of African waters by the Castro government, but comes off badly in Moore's account, for his attitude of disdain toward the African revolutionaries he was attempting to manipulate.

The book ought to be required reading for every political science class in the country. It is a laboratory demonstration of the total cynicism of world politics, in which the most eloquent expressions of high ideals are simply cloaks for venal interests. It is also a case study in the use of language—how world leaders say what they mean, but it is necessary to know how to read them.

Moore is the son of Jamaican-Barbadian parents who emigrated to work in the cane fields (hence his surname); he left Cuba shortly after Castro came to power, when it became clear that the regime would not

tolerate any autonomous Afro-Cuban expressions. In the 1970s he published a three-part article in *Soulbook*, in which he exposed the white, anti-working class character of the Castro regime, and attacked the very notion of "Latin" America as a Creole ideology aimed at concealing the African roots of Caribbean culture and of Cuban nationality in particular.

Castro, The Blacks, and Africa shows the value of placing the black worker at the center of analysis. The black worker is the historical antipode to capital. In those parts of the world bordering the Atlantic basin, "I'm black and I'm proud" is the closest thing heard to a modern rendition of "Workers of all countries, unite!" The power of the slogan reaches beyond those of African descent: whoever adopts the standpoint of the black worker will not go far wrong.*

[Editorial note: "black" is not capitalized in this article at the request of the author. Love and Rage usually capitalizes Black but deferred to the author in this case out of respect for his long history of committed work against racism. For further info please contact the author—PG]

[The writer is one of the editors of *Race Traitor*: a journal of the new abolitionism (available for \$6 postpaid from PO Box 603, Cambridge, Mass. 02140.)]

LETTERS

ANTI-AUTHORITARIAN INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Dear Love and Rage,

First, congratulations on the recent improvements in *Love and Rage*. It is finally really starting to read like a newspaper. While I wholeheartedly encourage the expanded international coverage, I also offer a word of caution. The stories on the RAF and PKK in your recent issue (both apparently lifted from Ontario's *Arm the Spirit*) were interesting, but point to the danger of falling into the same trap which Vancouver's *Open Road* succumbed to before its demise—that is equating anarchism with mere violent left-wing extremism, even of the authoritarian variety.

The story on the PKK and the struggles in Kurdistan has a dogmatic and oversimplified analysis which sees the PKK rebels in eastern Turkey as the vanguard of the Kurdish struggle while the Kurdish rebels in northern Iraq are seen as mere pawns of imperialism. Barzani's peshmerga in Iraq's Mosul province has indeed played ball with the CIA and the governments of Turkey and Iran. The PKK, for its own part, has Maoist leanings and has played ball with the despotic Assad regime in Syria. Both groups (and the populations in their zones of control) are facing levels of state terror that border on the genocidal and have therefore been forced to seek support where they can find it. This isn't to let Barzani off the hook for his opportunism. But a more sophisticated analysis would explore how the Kurdish people have been divided by the drawing of state boundaries through the heart of their ancestral territory, and would condemn the complicity of both Turkey and Iraq in manipulating the conflict into a Kurdish civil war.

Despite your "Boring Disclaimer," you might consider using more varied sources for

Apr./May '93), in which an anonymous "bisexual friend" attacked Raven's Banner Collective's expose of Zionism as "anti-Semitic" and called for a "genuinely anti-authoritarian critique of Zionism," itself ingeniously asserted the central



myths of Zionist propaganda: "Jews are a race, Zionism is merely another national movement and not inherently racist, Jews had 'nowhere else to go' after WW II but to 'Israel,' the Holocaust morally justifies the Zionist program, negative descriptions of Zionism are really anti-Semitic." How curious.

Anti-authoritarians would do well to thoroughly research the phenomenon of Zionism for themselves, rather than buy our dubious "bisexual friend's" apologetics and distortions, all of which smell like they came from the disinformation department of the ADL. As basic resource material we recommend Alfred Lilienthal, *The Zionist Connection*; Noam Chomsky, *The Fateful Triangle*; Andrew and Leslie Cockburn, *Dangerous Liaison*; Ralph Schoenman, *The Hidden History of Zionism*; Paul Findley, *They Dare to Speak Out*; Simha Flapan, *The Birth of Israel*; and Victor Ostrovsky, *By Way of Deception*. We also encourage everybody to read the informative articles of Benjamin Merhav, an expatriate Israeli and friend of our Collective (and who, incidentally, enthusiastically endorsed our letter on Zionism). Write Mr. Merhav c/o Malvern P.O., Malvern, Vic. 3144, Australia.

We hope all concerned will get the facts and then decide on the merits of RBC's anti-Zionist statement. In the meantime, some of our "bisexual friend's" more outrageous remarks deserve a reply. Stating that Zionism is not inherently racist belies the well-documented racist attitudes to the Zionist founders; indeed, what is the very

international coverage, and developing a perspective which is more rooted in anti-authoritarian principles. Now that you're finally beginning to read like a newspaper, I'd hate to see you lose the "anarchist" element of your professed subtitle.

Yours,
Bill Weinberg
Neither East Nor West
New York City

ANTI-ZIONISM JUST AIN'T ANTI-SEMITISM

Dear Anarchist Comrades,
The long letter "Anti-Zionism and Anti-Semitism" (L&R,

essence of Zionism—the notion that Jews must have their own "racial" state because they cannot live amongst non-Jews—if not racist? Equating Zionism with Irish, New Afrikan and Puerto Rican nationalism and with genuine national liberation movements is an insult to anti-imperialist fighters everywhere, considering that Zionism has been the creature of imperialism from Day One, and that the Zionist state has eagerly collaborated with U.S. imperialism and local reactionary regimes in trying to stamp out uprisings all over the "Third World." Zionist assistance to the U.S. war

machine's genocidal onslaughts across the globe far outweigh the relatively puny aid provided by a gaggle of American right-wing fanatics. And as obnoxious and dangerous as the racist right may be, Zionism is mightier by far, because it has access to State power and to the domination of Capital internationally.

Finally, we never described Zionism as an "omnipotent force," but in fact said it was "one of many . . . forces on the rampage on the world today and must not be obsessively dwelt upon to the exclusion of other dangers"—why did our "bisexual friend" find it necessary to dishonestly caricature our position?

Our "bisexual friend" asks who and what we are. RBC is an autonomous, non-sectarian, multi-tendency group that functions primarily

as an anarchist information source, with occasional forays into public "agit/prop." Contrary to the impression which may have been created by the hostile letter in question, we take the threat from the right seriously, and have actually confronted the anti-Semitic, racist filth of the



KKK/skinheads in the streets; we will continue to do so. As for P.A. Ward, he is an anarchist whose primary radical influences have been Herbert Marcuse and Gustav Lan-dauer—both Jews; and who at least signs his name to his letters.

On behalf of the Collective
Yours in struggle against
Zionism and anti-Semitism
P.A. Ward
Raven's Banner Collective
P.O. BOX 2711
PINELLAS PARK, FL

34664-2711

Dear Love and Rage

It's one of your friends from Hamilton, the only one from this city that was involved with Love and Rage still living here. I haven't had direct contact with Love and Rage for awhile, and had heard through the grapevine that the project was dead. I am pleased that the grapevine was wrong! I have heard credibly that the paper and network was reworked and is not the Love and Rage Anarchist Federation. I am encouraged by the changes, granting that they are true.

I send postage, I hope sufficient for a reply from the project detailing changes. From the above credible source I've heard of a membership fee, that I can't presently afford. Any reply would be appreciated to put to rest rumors, and would foster encouragement not discouragement that presently exists. I was a little "s" supporter in the past, and would like to be a Big "S" supporter in the future. I am particularly interested in the anti-racist and immigration working groups I've heard of, any info on these would be helpful!

Some involved will remember my involvement in the anti-racist summer project attempt in '92. Even though it has been over a year, I want to write on the project. I feel now that there could be practical application for such a paper. Is there a use within

L&R's present structure for this?

Lastly I would suggest that you contact ANAMADVERSE, I understand they don't know the current status of the project, and they are part of the anarchist movement that sees its role as reflection and growth. I hope you consider clearing up local misunderstandings, I'm glad you're still kickin' it in '93!

A to the K!
Bilbo
Hamilton, Ontario

Chris Delvecchio 1969- 1993

By ROBERT V. GILHEANY

In early August, we lost a beautiful, wonderful person. Chris Delvecchio was a passionate, tireless activist who was electrocuted on the third rail of the Grand Street subway station on the L line in New York City. He was on his way to a friend's apartment coming from an ACT UP meeting.

Chris was active on the Stonybrook campus of the State University of New York where he attended classes. He was a member of the Red Balloon Collective, and he took a leadership role in organizing against the Iraq war. Chris ran clothing drives for squatters, organized busses to mass demonstrations in D.C. including the Housing Now march and anti-war demos. Chris was a vegan and an animal liberation activist. He also wrote to political prisoners in the US including Helen Woodson and Larry Giddings. Chris moved to California and was involved in the People's Park struggle, Food Not Bombs and the formation of the new Infoshop in the Bay Area. He met Charlene Paul there and the two were married in February.

It is at least possible that Chris's death was part of a Queer bashing as he was wearing an ACT UP pin and was not known to back down from conflict. The police are trying to rule his death accidental, but his friends have hired a private investigator and are offering a reward for information leading to a conviction.

For more information about Chris's death or about the investigation contact:

Red Balloon Collective
2652 Cropsy Ave. #7H
Brooklyn, NY 11214

San Jose

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announced, and there seemed to be less people willing to block clinics. We counter-protested, but not much happened. On Monday, Tuesday, and Friday, when many pro-choicers went back to work, not much happened. By saying "not much happened," it doesn't mean they didn't send out scout cars to the clinics, etc. It means that we had them outnumbered and out-manuevered. They just couldn't shut down any clinics. The only real incident Monday was the arrest of Santa Cruz anarchist, Queer activist, and IWW organizer Deke Nihilson, who was arrested at SJPP trying to block an OR cameraman photographing a patient going inside.

Later that afternoon, they hit Blossom Hill (a SJ neighborhood) Planed Parenthood, and shut down a clinic that was NOT doing abortions that afternoon. So they stopped people going in to get sex education, pregnancy tests, birth control advice and pills, Pap smears and other things Planned Parenthood does. It seems that PP, not realizing or not wanting to realize that OR would close down a clinic NOT doing abortions, didn't notify anyone that they were open that afternoon so there were no defenders there. OR, for its part, claimed to the media that they had saved three or four babies. Not!

Wednesday morning was their first major hit; we, of course, repelled them, and all patients got to their scheduled appointments, as they did all week. In the rich suburbs of Los Gatos is the Choice Clinic, where the clinic director said only the police would be allowed to go on their grounds, making it hard to defend the doors on this large piece of land with multi-directional entry. When the OR cars arrived, some of their big goons went down a back pathway while others sat down to block the driveway. We defended and created access as best we could, chasing them away from the back area. Two defenders were arrested trying to repel OR's rearguard. Up front, people took the idea of actually moving OR to heart for the first time and started to carry blockaders across the street and away from the driveway!...until the cops told us that was their job, which they proceeded to do, **very slowly**. Thanks to the people who disobeyed the clinic director in the

back and to those who carried OR in the front, and no thanks to snail-like cops who feel it is their job (if they agree to do anything about OR) to arrest OR and not to worry about patients getting in, all patients got their procedures done that morning, on time.

That afternoon, many of us felt they were going to hit again, so we all went to Alum Rock Planned Parenthood. Alum Rock is in a multi-racial working class neighborhood of San Jose, and is surrounded by a shopping center. People from the neighborhood gave the biggest support of the week of any neighborhood we were in. Because of the morning success through militancy, Planned Parenthood allowed us to put up a defense line on their property, and all groups worked together surprisingly well. NOW and BACORR exchanged info that they had not done earlier. OR did not hit. It is my opinion that their tactical people, some of whom were obviously watching us from the sidelines, was "the unity of Alum Rock" and held back.

That evening at San Jose's main Civic Auditorium, Randy Terry, OR's founder and chief "theoretician" spoke. Outside, we had a noisy picket line. Four or

five people were arrested in incidents ranging from an OR goon being spit upon to raising a drumstick too high. To a fairly empty room, in front of mainly their own cadre of bible thumpers and goon squad geeks, Randy started by castigating mainline religions for not helping him "save babies." Near the end of his speech he said OR is changing its purpose. He says its new purpose is to create a "Christian Democratic Republic" in the US where only believers in the Ten Commandments would be allowed to hold office.

Thursday they tried a tactic of pure harassment. They picked out four doctors who perform abortions and set up what they called a "Tour of Shame," driving their people from one house to the next and marching through neighborhoods with signs like "your neighbor Dr. _____ kills babies," or "Don't send your children to play with Dr. _____. He'll kill them, like he does little babies," and, of course, enlarged gruesome pictures of what are generally miscarriages. Most of them didn't picket the doctors' houses themselves because of a San Jose anti-harassment ordinance know as the "bubble law." This law requires the police to mark off a 1,000 foot bub-

ble protecting the target of the picket. When picketers enter the bubble, police are supposed to arrest them, which they did in this case, but very slowly.

On Saturday morning, OR attempted another hit. They went to San Mateo Planned Parenthood, about 30 miles north of San Jose. They came in, attempting to block the front door. Defenders were allowed by the clinic director and police to set up at defense line, and carry OR away from the doors. When OR complained, a cop was overheard saying, "If they're not hurting you, we're not going to stop them." It seems the cops basically didn't want to get involved altogether, only trying to keep their community as placid as could be attempted, with as little arrests and paperwork as possible. During the picketing and prayer period, the cops with riot gear ready, mainly faced defenders and not OR. They allowed a skinhead who was assaulting defenders and using racist and sexist epithets to escape into OR's crowd. Many of these "Christians" welcomed him into their "fold". That afternoon, we had a victory party. Most of us were exhausted but exhilarated. Every patient during the COR got in on

time. They only clinic OR closed was not doing abortions.

Probably to salve their embarrassment, they did an unscheduled "minuteman" hit on Monday morning. They drove up to the clinic and blocked the front gate with a car. They then blocked the main and side doors. But, through stupidity or whatever, they didn't block the back door, and every client got in. Even when they tried clinics without defenders, not a single patient missed her appointment during their all-important week in the Bay Area.

As it says in the Bible, there is no rest for the weary. At least eight Bay Area pro-choicers face charges from San Jose events. They need to be supported. In September, OR will be bringing its "IMPACT Team" paramilitary training to Sacramento 100 miles east of the Bay area. Dr. gunn's murderer was part of the IMPACT Team trained in Florida. Everyone in California and the West is being asked to stay on alert for the arrival of this anti-woman terrorist school.

The struggle to stop Operation Rescue has given people some idea that our own power is what defends abortion access (and every other good thing) and not laws or politicians.★

Minnesota

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blocked with demonstrators shouting "Let him go!" What began as a celebratory theatrical festival turned into a virtual police riot.

All was not lost, however. The militancy and unity among demonstrators that occurred in the wake of the attack was very powerful. Most of the protestors were in the street, linking up, unarresting, and helping those most injured. People responded to the unexpected brutal attack with an overwhelming solidarity that made me think we were in the midst of an actual revolutionary social movement. Most of the demonstrators went directly to jail to demand the release of those arrested. All but two of the folks arrested were held for 36 hours due to unusually high bail; as well as being banned from the church and the clinics for the rest of the week.

THE AFTERMATH

Of course the press pounced on this situation as they did all week and manipulated the facts to make it seem like the demon-

strators caused the violence and the cops were just trying to control the crowd. The press concentrated their concoction on the fact that there were many "outsiders" agitating and ruining the pro-choice movement (NWROC happened to be media mongers on top of everything else.) Editorials in the Star Tribune congratulated the police and compared the radical's tactics with those of OR. The NEA quickly denounced us publicly (not the first time that week!); they were "repelled" by our tactics and worried aloud that we were painting the pro-choice movement as violent. After having a discussion, the ACRF decided to hold a press conference the next day at which we described this experience as a brutal police attack when we were exercising our right to protest. We also explained that we had absolutely nothing in common with OR, and that our strategy was to confront OR on their fascist agenda. Even though we know the press is twisted and that liberals will always hate our tactics, we agreed that strategically the press conference was a wise move. The criticism from the

press continued all week; our failure would be their success. Except we know we did not fail.

It seems like no matter how hard activists fight, we rarely win. Except this time we were victorious. We fought against these fascists right next to (or sometimes under!) unprincipled and often authoritarian "allies." We saw the demise of Operation Rescue in the Twin Cities, partly due to our unprecedented aggressiveness and opposition, and partly because their movement is losing, bigtime. As anti-authoritarians, we realize now that we made many mistakes. But we are also united in a way we have never been before, because there is nothing in the world that compares to coming together in fierce political action and winning.

Charges for the six arrested at Calvary Temple range from obstruction to assault—two of these folks are local, three are from Chicago, and one from Detroit. Five of those arrested are facing a trial this fall. Several have gross misdemeanor charges. These activists need support! For more information write:

Macalester Peace and Justice Committee
1600 Grand Ave.
St. Paul, MN 55105-1899

Bougainville

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Lack of medical supplies, particularly malaria preventatives and treatments, has cost an estimated 5000 lives, 2000 of which were children. In May of '92, 100 people were massacred by the PNG in a foray onto the island. Villages have been strafed and people forcibly relocated. PNG defense forces often publicly announce victory only to be contradicted by Radio Free Bougainville's continuing shortwave broadcasts.

The Red Cross, U.N. observers, journalists and just about anyone save the PNG military have been denied access to the island. Bougainville can be reached using a fast motorboat departing from The Solomon Islands. Australian activists have been machine gunned while running the blockade to deliver needed supplies.

The Solomon Islands, although officially neutral in the conflict, refused military aid from Australia (and have no military at all), and allowed a representative of the BRA, Martin Mariori, on their soil. Many Solomon Islanders have blood relations Bougainville. During July of 1993 pressure from PNG and Australia was levelled against the Solomon's administration to put a stop to pro-BRA activities there.

Anti-BRA forces on the island have formed "contra" groups entirely supported from without by PNG and Australia. These groups are aligned with interim authorities who have been promised aid for their complicity. However, on July 30 of this year these interim authorities tried to negotiate a separate agreement with the BRA with an eye towards an independent Bougainville. This meeting, frowned upon by outside agents of repression took place in Honiara, capital of the Solomon Islands.

Comprised mostly of members of the Nasioi ethnic group, the BRA professes no western-identified ideology and is led by a man named Moses Avini. Some support for the BRA and/or the people of Bougainville is taking shape in Australia, in spite of near news blackout. Hopefully news of and support for the Bougainvillians will spread to the U.S. and elsewhere.

For more information contact:
Neither East Nor West
c/o Matthew Sphinx
P.O. Box 853
New York, NY 10009 (212)460-8390

Transgender Rage

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nerable group within the transgendered population because we renounce, for the rest of our lives, the privilege of having a "natural" body. It is significant that there is no diagnostic test for transsexuality other than self-reporting. The only way the shrinks know when we're transsexuals is when we walk into their offices and say, "I'm not happy with the body I was born into and I want to change my sex." If we insist on this desire for a few months they'll sign a piece of paper declaring us to be suffering from "Gender Dysphoria Syndrome" and referring us to an endocrinologist. If we perform to their satisfaction in our chosen gender for at least a year, they'll sign another piece of paper granting permission for surgery. This assumes that we can afford expensive therapy or surgical procedures that often are not covered by medical insurance that we probably don't even have. This assumes we don't get killed by some scared, hate-filled bigot because we don't always pass as born members of our chosen gender. We do not willingly abide these conditions.

Our situation is simple. Other

people—psychiatrists, therapists, doctors—exercise non-consensual power over our bodies and our lives. As transsexuals, we do not control the means of our own production. This has always been the grounds for resistance, rebellion, and insurrection.

We of Transgender Nation have this to say to the American Psychiatric Association: We are a gender minority suffering from medical and psychiatric colonization. You are our oppressors—you are not our helpers. We are not a disease. We are not an emotional disorder. We are not crazy. We should not be in your Diagnostic and Statistical Manual. We demand removal from your sick list. And we demand as well the kind of quality health care for our particular medical needs that every human being deserves as an inalienable right.

As Queer people, we transsexuals and other gender minorities draw inspiration from the lesbian and gay liberation movement that emerged after the Stonewall riots. We cannot forget, however, like others sometimes do, that Stonewall began as an act of transgender solidarity when street queens came to the aid of a female-to-male cross dresser—a "passing woman"—who was

resisting arrest. We protest the transphobia we encounter in the Queer community that has co-opted our uprising and made it the symbol of a less radical cause. But we take heart from the fact that homosexuality was considered a mental illness by the APA until 1973, until determined, militant, political activism succeeded in overturning the stigmatization and pathologization of many Queer lives.

As radical anthropologist Gayle Rubin has noted, gay liberation merely paved the way for a broader movement: "Sexualities keep marching out of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual and onto the pages of social history. At present, several other groups are try-

Chattanooga

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There are several ways you can help.

Come to the march.
Write a letter to Gary Gerbitz, State's DA Office, Hamilton County Justice Bldg., 600 Market St., Suite 310, Chattanooga, TN 37402, (615) 757-2170, and demand that they drop all charges against the Chattanooga 8, Gary Taylor (another motorist, pulled over ostensibly for a busted tail light, a gun was pulled on

ing to emulate the successes of homosexuals. Bisexuals, sado-masochists, individuals who prefer cross-generational encounters, transsexuals, and transvestites are all in various states of community formation and identity acquisition." And, I would add, we are in various stages of revolt. As transgender activists, we believe, in the words of our stone butch comrade Leslie Feinberg, that transgender liberation is a movement whose time has come.

May our rage inform our actions, and may our actions transform the world as they have transformed us.

For further information contact:
Transgender Nation
P.O. Box 424280

him and he was beaten and arrested) and other victims of police brutality and false arrests.

Make a donation for the legal expenses of the arrested protesters to the: Chattanooga 8 Defense Campaign, c/o Concerned Citizens for Justice, POB 1066, Federal Courthouse & Post Office Bldg., Chattanooga, TN 37401
Reprint this article.

For more information contact:
Concerned Citizens for Justice, Lorenzo Ervin 615-622-7614, or Maxine Cousin 615-698-8940
Love and Rage Anti-Racist Working Group (313) 881-7632